

Chautauqua School of Theology



THE  
APOSTOLIC FATHERS  
AND THE  
FATHERS OF THE THIRD CENTURY

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REV'D GEORGE A. JACKSON

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Chautauqua School of Theology.

THE  
APOSTOLIC FATHERS  
AND  
THE FATHERS OF THE  
THIRD CENTURY.

BY  
REV. GEORGE A. JACKSON.

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Early Christian Literature Primers.

*Edited by Professor* GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D.

THE  
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AND  
THE APOLOGISTS OF THE  
SECOND CENTURY.

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## P R E F A C E .

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IT is the design of this volume, and of the series of which it is the first, to provide intelligent persons, laymen as well as ministers, with the means of acquainting themselves, through accurate translations or summaries, with the early ecclesiastical writers. The present volume covers the interval between the close of the Apostolic Age and the last quarter of the second century. Many of the Christian writings of this period have perished altogether, sharing thus the fate which befell so large a portion of the ancient classical literature. This circumstance, however, heightens the value even of the fragments which have survived the wreck, and which serve to throw light upon the condition of the Church in the obscure opening era of its history, when doctrines began to be formulated, and the New Testament Scriptures to be collected in the Canon.

It is essential to the value of such a work that

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the translations should be correctly made, and that the explanatory observations should be in accord with the latest and soundest criticism, and should be free from the influence of a theological bias. These conditions, so far as I am able to judge, have been faithfully observed by Mr. Jackson. There may be minor points on which critics may differ in judgment, and slight inaccuracies may have escaped detection; but the work will still be recognized, I trust, as fulfilling its promise, and as meeting a want which has not before been supplied.

GEORGE P. FISHER.

YALE COLLEGE, *June* 30, 1879.

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# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, A. D. 1-180.

A. D.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	A. D.	GREEK WRITERS.	A. D.	LATIN WRITERS.	A. D.	CHRISTIAN WRITERS.
-14	Augustus.			9	<i>Æ.</i> Ovid.		
14-37	Tiberius.	18	Strabo. Apion of Alex'a.	16	<i>ob.</i> Livy.		
37-41	Caligula.			37	<i>Æ.</i> Celsus, <i>physician.</i>		
41-54	Claudius.			45	<i>Æ.</i> Pomponius Mela.		
54-68	Nero.			62	<i>ob.</i> Persius.		} Scripture Writers.
				65	<i>ob.</i> Lucan.		
				65	<i>ob.</i> Seneca.		
68-70	Galba, Otho, Vitellius.						
70-79	Vespasian.			78	<i>ob.</i> Flaccus.		
79-81	Titus.			79	<i>ob.</i> Pliny (major).		
81-96	Domitian.			82	Juvenal.		<i>Æ.</i> Clement.
96-98	Nerva.						
98-117	Trajan.	99	Dion Chrysostom.	104	<i>ob.</i> Martial.		} <i>ob.</i> Ignatius.
				108	<i>ob.</i> Tacitus.		
				109	<i>Æ.</i> Pliny (minor).		
				116	<i>Æ.</i> Suetonius.		

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, A. D. 1-180—(Continued).

A. D.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	A. D.	GREEK WRITERS.	A. D.	LATIN WRITERS.	A. D.	CHRISTIAN WRITERS.
117-138	Hadrian.	118 120	Epictetus. Plutarch.	117	<i>ob.</i> Quintilian.	125 135 135	<i>A.</i> Barnabas. <i>A.</i> Papias. <i>A.</i> Hermas. Basilides, } heretics. Isidorus, } Saturninus, } Agrippa Castor. Quadratus. Aristo. Aristides.
138-161	Antoninus Pius.	148	Maximus of Tyre.	140	Gaius.	152 155	<i>ob.</i> Hegesippus. Polycarp. Mar. Polycarp. <i>A.</i> Carpocrates, } Valentinus, } heretics. Heracleon, } Ptolemæus, } Marcion, } Marcus, }
161-180	Marcus Aurelius.	161 161 176 180 180	Appian. Arrian. Ptolemy. Apollonius. Pausanias. Artemidorus. Aretæus. Lucian. Marcus Aurelius.	163	<i>A.</i> Appuleius.	165 165 168 170 170 170 176 177 178	Ep. to Diognetus. <i>ob.</i> Justin. <i>A.</i> Tatian. <i>A.</i> Theophilus. <i>A.</i> Melito. Apollinaris. Muratorian fragment. <i>A.</i> Athenagoras. Mar. Pothinus. Dionysius of Corinth. Hermias.

## INTRODUCTION.

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“Under the shell there was an animal, and behind the document there was a man.”—TAINÉ.

**Patristic Literature** embraces the writings of the Fathers of the Ancient Church, as distinguished from the works of the Doctors of the Mediæval Church. The line between these two Christian ages can not be sharply drawn; but, speaking in a general way, the epoch of the Fathers was, in the Western Church, the first six centuries. In the Eastern Church, the patristic age may be extended to embrace John of Damascus (A. D. 750). The writers may be arranged, not unnaturally, in four groups: 1 (A. D. 95-180). The Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists, or writers contemporary with the formation of the New Testament canon. These all wrote in Greek. 2 (A. D. 180-325). The Fathers of the third century, or writers from Irenæus to the Nicene Council; partly Greek, partly Latin. 3 (A. D. 325-590). The Post-Nicene Latin Fathers. 4 (A. D. 325-750). The Post-Nicene Greek Fathers.

We study this great body of writings, not, as we study the authors of the age of Pericles, or of the age of Augustus, as models of literary form, but, as we study all ruder literatures, to find out the truths which they embody, and to discern the men standing behind the books. And yet there is much in

these Christian writings which not even the polite scholar can overlook. To lose Clement of Alexandria were to lose much of our present knowledge of classical antiquity. John Chrysostom could no more be left out of the world of letters than Bossuet. The "Confessions" of Augustine is one of the few books which belong to the whole race, and will always live.

**A Formative Period.**—The period covered by the present volume (95–180) was essentially the formative period of the Church. At its beginning an apostle was yet living; Christianity was only fairly born into the world. At its close the Catholic Church existed, holding in her hands a defined canon of Christian Scripture. The eighty-five years intervening thus witnessed one of the most important movements in human history; and, when we reflect that almost the only knowledge we have of that movement is gained from the scanty remains of the Christian writings of the period, we shall scan the documents closely, to see the forces working behind them. Gibbon, it is well known, said: "If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus." It was indeed the flood-tide pause, before the civilization of the ancient world ebbed back into its ocean of oblivion. But no eye was then so practiced in reading the marks of the ages as to see in that universal lull and happiness a presage of the world's decline. Still less was there any one



to note that then, at the véry climax in the history of one age of the world, there was crystallizing into form a power which would scatter from the world the darkness of its impending night, and illumine the nations with a more than Antoninian brightness. No pagan could note this. Pliny, writing to Trajan of the worshippers of Christ in Bithynia, never dreamed of such a destiny for their faith. No Christian could forecast it; for none as yet regarded Christianity as a power for transforming this world, but rather as something in antagonism with the world, which latter was soon to be swept away with all its vanities and pomps. It is little wonderful, therefore, that the Christians left scanty records of their rising power; and that, just as we have to study the secular history of this age largely in its coins and architectural remains, and in the writings of its panegyrists and satirists and philosophers, so we must study its Christian history largely in the Christian writings not professedly historical that have come down to us.

**Primitive Christian Life.**—These writings are commonly known as those of the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists. Speaking strictly, the Apostolic Fathers are only four in number, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas; but with these are commonly associated Hermas and Papias. Through the pages of Clement we catch glimpses of the disciples at Rome, toward the close of the first century, suffering persecution at the hands of Domitian. We see these disciples, even before the hand of persecution is withdrawn from them, taking thought for the welfare of their brethren at Corinth, where

the Church is suffering from internal dissensions. The Romans, by the hand of Clement, write to the Corinthian brethren, urging submission to church authorities. Their letter contains a prayer which, it is thought, may have formed a part of the Roman liturgy. Thus we detect the beginnings of the vigorous ecclesiastical organization, and of the elaborate order of worship, which grew up in the influential church at Rome. Again, a half century later, a letter of Dionysius of Corinth shows us that the Roman Church had been contributing money to the poorer churches of Greece, and had again, by her bishop, Soter, written a letter to the Corinthians. The latter, treasuring the letter, read it on the Lord's day, as they did the former letter written them by Clement. This same Dionysius, as we learn from Eusebius, wrote various other letters to churches "for instruction in sound doctrine, for correction in discipline, for repression of heresy." To one of these letters Pinytus replied, urging Dionysius to "impart at some time more solid food, tenderly feeding the people committed to him with a letter of riper instruction, lest by continually dwelling on milk-like teaching they should insensibly grow old without advancing beyond the teaching of babes." Here we notice, as an important characteristic of this formative period, a free and filial intercommunication between the churches, and an interest both in one another's outward welfare and in a common soundness in the faith.

Again, by the epistles of Ignatius in the earlier part, and by the letter of the churches of Vienna and Lyons in the latter part of the period, we are

brought to see the entire *abandon* with which the Christians gave themselves to their new faith. Martyrdom, instead of being deprecated, was often even courted as a privilege. Death by martyrdom, we must remember, was comparatively infrequent in this period. By the second quarter of the century the number of Christians, notwithstanding their social and political insignificance, must have been very great; and there was at no time anything amounting to a universal persecution. The terrible sufferings of the Christians at Vienne and Lyons, in A. D. 177, had had nothing approaching a parallel since the days of Domitian. Still there was enough of persecution to keep always alive the martyr spirit, and no conception of the growing Church of the second century is complete that does not make this spirit prominent.

Then, standing out through every epistle and apology, especially appearing in the "Shepherd of Hermas," we see evidence of the struggle for moral purity which Christians were compelled to wage amidst the corruption of paganism. To come "out from the world" was to the believer of that day no figure of speech, but the actual entrance into a new moral atmosphere. Reading the "Shepherd," and remembering that it appeared in the midst of a society differing little from that satirized by Juvenal, we no longer wonder at the esteem in which it was held by the early Christians, but we almost join with them in calling it an inspired book.

Nor must we forget, in our estimate of these early believers, that many of them were characterized by a certain crudeness of conception, not to say

credulity and narrowness, such as would to-day seem strange in any one but a child. The epistle of Barnabas illustrates this feature, and, more strikingly, fragments from Papias's "Oracles of the Lord." The latter writer held to the grossest of chiliastic or millennial ideas; and yet he doubtless represented a large element in the growing Christian community.

As the period advances, we find that Christianity is becoming more and more conscious of its own existence and importance in the great world. Whereas the earlier Christian writings were simply letters or writings from one to another among themselves, before the middle of the century Christian works come to be addressed to others outside the body of believers. The latter part of the period therefore is known as the "Age of the Apologists," which name implies that the new society was no longer wholly unknown; that it had found its voice, and was speaking for itself. Reaching at first only the humble and unlearned ranks of society, the new faith had in it that which appealed powerfully to the philosophic mind. Mere sophists, of course, despised it; but the true lovers of wisdom began to see in it a diviner philosophy than that of the Academy or the Porch. Not a few among them embraced Christianity, and became its most zealous defenders and propagators, often retaining in their new calling the philosopher's cloak which they had worn before conversion. The services of these philosophers were of two kinds. They were evangelists—"men inspired with godly zeal to copy the pattern of the apostles," says Eusebius—teaching Christian doc-

trine by word of mouth in all the centers of learning. They were also writers, preparing treatises in exposition and defense of the faith. Such explanatory and apologetic writings make up the larger and the characteristic part of the later Christian works of the period.

**The New Testament Canon.**—Again, besides these glimpses of the primitive life of the Church, we get other information of value from the early literature. The New Testament canon was then forming, and from time to time throughout the period we catch sight of the several New Testament books in the hands of our authors, and treated by them as Scripture. At the close of the period we find in existence the Muratorian Fragment, which gives us almost our complete New Testament.

But side by side with these traces of our received books of Scripture, we see in the hands of Christians of the second century certain *apocryphal* writings. These works are of two kinds: 1. Works claiming apostolic authority; 2. Works making no claim to inspiration, but only to embody traditions which had been handed down concerning our Lord or his apostles. Of the first class, which were few in number, and principally modifications of our canonical books, only those mentioned in connection with Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion can claim our attention in this period. The second class of apocryphal works, which related chiefly the history of Joseph and Mary, the infancy of Jesus, and the acts of Pilate, came in time to be numerous. None of them, in their present form, belonged to the second century; but many of the traditions which they em-

body existed thus early, and perhaps portions of the "Protevangelion of James," of the "Acts of Pilate," and of the "Gospel of Thomas," then existed in written form.

**Patristic Studies.**—A thought should be bestowed upon the history of patristic studies. Speaking in a general way, there have been three several incentives to an examination of the works of the Fathers, particularly the earlier writings. The first of these grew out of the Protestant Reformation. Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, and the other leading Reformers studied the patristic writers, especially Augustine. The Catholic Church, claiming that the early writers were upon her side, in the hundred years or more after the Council of Trent, produced many learned scholars in this department, most of whom studied and wrote in the interests of their church. On the other hand, Protestants, looking to Scripture alone as authoritative, made less of the early ecclesiastical writers, and, outside the Church of England, studied them with a less sympathetic spirit. Patristic studies thus received a powerful impulse from a desire on the part of Catholic writers to uphold the peculiar theological and ecclesiastical views of their church.

The Church of England held an exceptional position among Protestants. Her members, as distinguished from non-episcopal reformers, retained a very high regard for the primitive Fathers; and among them arose many learned and enthusiastic patristic scholars. The earlier of these, going further in this respect than the Catholics, who allowed for a development of doctrines, stoutly claimed that

the opinions and practices of their church were substantially identical with those of the Church in the first centuries. The spirit animating these earlier Anglican scholars was thus a spirit of loyalty to the Church of England.

The third interest in which patristic study has been undertaken, the controlling one to-day, is that of a broad Christian scholarship, irrespective of the defense or overthrow of particular views. Formerly two branches of the Church enjoyed a kind of monopoly of this department of Christian learning; but now, influenced by this broader motive, the whole Church has entered the field, and Lutheran and Puritan, alike with Romanist and Anglican, desire to know who the Fathers were and what they wrote. Writings upon the earlier Christian works, so far as they are controversial, are now directed, not against peculiar views within the Church, but against outside attacks upon Christianity itself. But, happily, most readers of Christian literature have other than controversial ends in view. Happily, too, men are better able than they once were to see valuable Christian truths in non-theological forms, or in forms differing widely from their own ways of expressing the same truths. Classes, therefore, who have in former times turned away from the early writers because they did not present systematic schemes of the plan of salvation, or because, judged by certain standards, they seemed sometimes to incline to heresy, are now glad to pick out the spiritual gems lying in these old mines.

**Aim of this Work.**—It is in recognition of this broad interest of Christians of every name that

this series has been undertaken. Few clergymen, even, have opportunities to make extended studies in this field; yet at a day when "Supernatural Religion" is still fresh in men's minds, and when the historical foundations of Christianity are freely discussed in periodical literature, not only every clergyman but every reader needs to know something of Clement, and Ignatius, and Polycarp, and Justin—at least who they were, what works they wrote, and when they wrote them. Such information this volume attempts to give. By comparing the contents of the book with the list of works in Migne's "Patrology," it will be seen that we are able to embrace in this small compass a large part of the genuine extant writings of the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists. If, by his efforts, the main results of modern critical study of the Fathers are made generally accessible, the aim of the author will be reached.

G. A. J.

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The following are the works of the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, and contemporaneous ecclesiastical writers to the time of Irenæus, as given in Migne's "Patrology." All that are now generally allowed to be genuine are printed in italics. Those given entire in this volume are marked with a star. Those of which extracts or summaries are given are marked with a dagger.

CLEMENT :

\* *Epistle to the Corinthians*, I. ; Epistle to the Corinthians, II. ; Two Epistles to Virgins.

The Apostolical Constitutions; Recognitions of Clement. Clementine Homilies; Epitome of the Acts of Peter; Liturgy of Clement.

BARNABAS :

† *The Catholic Epistle*. (Not, however, Barnabas the Apostle.)



ST. MATTHEW THE APOSTLE :

Fragments.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE :

Brief Sentence.

POPE ANACLETUS :

Epistles and Decrees.

ST. HERMAS :

† *The Shepherd of Hermas.*

ANONYMOUS :

Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.

ANONYMOUS :

\* *Epistle to Diognetus.* (Unquestionably very ancient, and so marked like the genuine epistles.)

PRESBYTERS AND DEACONS OF ACHAIA :

Epistle concerning the Martyrdom of St. Andrew.

ST. DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE :

The Celestial Hierarchy ; Of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy ; Treatise on the Divine Names ; Of Mystical Theology ; Ten Epistles ; Liturgy of St. Dionysius. (These works were written not earlier than the fourth, probably in the fifth, century.)

ST. IGNATIUS THE MARTYR :

\* *Genuine Epistles* (Vossian ; the Curetonian given here).

Seven interpolated Epistles ; eight spurious Epistles ;

Liturgy of St. Ignatius.

—The Martyrdom of St. Ignatius.

ST. POLYCARP :

\* *Epistle to the Philippians* ; Fragments.

—Letter of the Church at Smyrna concerning the Martyrdom of Polycarp. (A very early document, but its *authenticity* is questioned, as also the *genuineness* of portions of it.)

POPES EVARISTUS, ALEXANDER I., SIXTUS I., TELESPHORUS,

HYGINUS, PIUS I., ELEUTHERUS :

Epistles and Decrees.

ST. MELITO :

† *Fragments.*

ST. PAPIAS :

† *Fragments from "Oracles of the Lord."*

ST. QUADRATUS :

*Fragments from Apology.*

ARISTO PELLÆUS, ST. CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS, ST. HEGESIPUS PANTÆNUS, RHODON :

*Fragments.*

MAXIMUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM :

*Fragment from book "De Materia."*

POLYCRATES, BISHOP OF EPHESUS :

*Fragment from Letter to Victor ; Acts of St. Timothy.*

ST. THEOPHILUS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA :

*Fragment from Epistle on the Paschal Question.*

ST. SERAPION, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH, APOLLONIUS :

*Fragments.*

ANONYMOUS :

*Epistle of the Churches at Vienne and Lyons on the Martyrdom of Pothinus and others ; Fragment.*

ST. VICTOR, POPE :

*Epistles.*

ARCHÆUS, AN AFRICAN BISHOP :

*Fragment.*

ST. JUSTIN (MARTYR) :

Address to the Greeks ; Hortatory Address to the Greeks ;  
On the Sole Government of God.

† *Apology I.*

*Apology II.*

† *Dialogue with Trypho.*

TATIAN :

*Address to the Greeks.*

ATHENAGORAS :

† *A Mission about Christians.*

† *On the Resurrection of the Dead.*

ST. THEOPHILUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH :

*Three Books to Autolycus.*

HERMIAS, PHILOSOPHER :

*A Deriding of the Gentile Philosophers.*

# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

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## CLEMENT OF ROME.

THE transitions of the moral world, like those of the physical, are not abrupt. Between the plane on which stood Paul and Peter and John, and the perceptibly lower plane of the writers of the second century, intervenes a terrace on which stands Clement of Rome. Our positive knowledge of this Father is small, but is sufficient to invest him with a dignity becoming a companion and successor of the two great apostles in the foremost church of the early Christian world. Around his name clustered all those vague traditions of the Roman Church which needed only the magic of an honored name to crystallize them into historic form. Upon Clement, unwilling and declining the honor—runs the tradition—Peter laid hold, and compelled him to take the bishop's chair which he was about to leave; at the same time communicating to him "the power of binding and loosing, so that with respect to everything which he shall ordain in the earth, it shall be decreed in the heavens." With this prestige it is little wonder that he was early thought of as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; or that Clement of Alexandria calls him the "Apostle Clement"; or that modern critics have invested him

with the dignity of imperial connections. This last supposition identifies him with Flavius Clemens, who was a cousin of the Emperor Domitian and husband of Flavia Domitilla, also of imperial blood. This Flavius Clemens was colleague of Domitian in the consulship, and his children had been selected by the Emperor as successors to the throne; but upon a charge of atheism—the profession of Christianity—Domitian suddenly put him to death and banished his wife to an island. Now it appears, both from the Epistles of St. Paul and from monuments that have lately been recovered from ancient Christian burial-places, that Christianity very early gained a foothold in the imperial palace. It is moreover probable, from the absence from Clement's epistle of all personal allusions to the persecutors of the Christians, although they were at that very time suffering persecution, that he was writing, if not from Cæsar's own household, at least from one of the great households closely allied, in which he was in actual daily intercourse with the agents of the Emperor. Furthermore, there are in the epistle some indications that Clement was acquainted with Roman history and literature, and that he identifies himself with the Romans. But however pleasant the fancy, it would be presumptuous from these data to assume so princely a rank as that of Flavius Clemens for one of the earliest bishops of Rome. Other critics therefore suppose him to have been a freedman of this noble Christian, and perhaps of Jewish descent; while still others, following Origen, hold to his identity with the Clement of Phil. iv., and suppose that he was a Philippian. But, dis-

missing all mere conjectures as to his exact rank and condition in life, we do know that there was a Clement among the first three bishops of the Church at Rome, and that he was probably the third in order. We learn this from the mention of Clement's name in prayers of the Roman Church which date from the second century, and also from the testimony of Irenæus. We know, too, that in the reign of Domitian, Clement, in the name of the Roman Church, wrote a letter to the Corinthian Church. This we learn from the combined testimonies of Hegesippus, the first historian of the Church, and Dionysius of Corinth, both which testimonies are preserved in Eusebius. This Epistle to the Corinthians is still extant, and is universally acknowledged to be genuine. It was written about A. D. 95, and is probably the only genuine work of Clement which we have. Closely connected with this work in history is another, which bears the name of the "Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians," and which long passed as Clement's even among critics. Scholars now, however, agree that it can not be ascribed to the same author as the first epistle, some thinking it the work of Clement of Alexandria, some that of another Clement contemporary with Pius, the brother of Hermas. It has, moreover, the form of a homily rather than of a letter. Besides these, four other letters bear the name of Clement: two Epistles on Virginity, extant only in Syriac, which, though not genuine, are of very early date; and two Epistles to James the Lord's Brother, one of which doubtless dates from the last half of the second century.

In addition to these epistolary writings, a considerable body of Clementine literature, so called, has attached itself to our author's name. It is embodied in two works, or two recensions of the same work, known as the "Clementina" and the "Recognitiones," and in the "Apostolical Constitutions." These works will be described in the appendix to Clement's Epistle.

To speak briefly now of this genuine epistle. Until very lately only one manuscript of the work was known—the Alexandrian manuscript of the New Testament (*cir.* A. D. 450), in which the first and second Epistles to the Corinthians were recorded after the canonical books. This position confirms the testimony of Eusebius that, though not considered canonical, they were so much esteemed as to be frequently read in the churches. This Alexandrian manuscript, which has been known to scholars 250 years, was confessedly imperfect; so that when, in 1875, Bryennios published at Constantinople a new and entire manuscript, found in that city, critics hailed the event with delight. Very soon after this discovery, another (Syriac) manuscript was brought to light, thus giving us at last a substantially perfect text. The gap thus filled was great. Toward the close of the first epistle, the Alexandrian manuscript had lost about a tenth part of the whole, while of the second epistle some two fifths was wanting. The new portions give important hints as to the dates of both epistles, as to the stage of liturgical development in the Roman Church at the writing of the first epistle, and as to the homiletical rather than epistolary

character of the second (so-called) epistle. Besides the larger defects of the Alexandrian manuscript, there were a number of minor chasms caused by age and use; and not the slightest advantage accruing from the discovery of the new manuscripts, at least to the non-critical world, is the confidence they give us in the learning and acumen of such critics as Lightfoot and Harnack, who had previously edited the Alexandrian text, and not a few of whose conjectural readings are now absolutely established.

For the contents of the epistle the reader is referred to the work itself. It is given entire, save some of the longer and more exact Scripture quotations, in making which the author must have had the Septuagint version before him. The translation is Lightfoot's, and is the only translation from the Greek used in this volume in which emendations from a critical text have not been necessary.

The reader should carefully note the resemblance, both in thought and in forms of expression, to the New Testament epistles, especially the Epistle to the Hebrews.

#### THE EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS.

The church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the church of God which sojourneth in Corinth, to them which are called and sanctified by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Grace to you and peace from Almighty God through Jesus Christ be multiplied.

1. By reason of the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which are befalling us, brethren,

we consider that we have been somewhat tardy in giving heed to the matters of dispute that have arisen among you, dearly beloved, and to the detestable and unholy sedition so alien and strange to the elect of God, which a few headstrong and self-willed persons have kindled to such a pitch of madness, that your name, once revered and renowned, and lovely in the sight of all men, hath been greatly reviled. For who that had sojourned among you did not approve your most virtuous and steadfast faith? Who did not admire your sober and forbearing piety in Christ? Who did not publish abroad your magnificent disposition of hospitality? Who did not congratulate you on your perfect and sound knowledge? For ye did all things without respect of persons, and ye walked after the ordinances of God, submitting yourselves to your rulers, and rendering to the older men among you the honor which is their due. On the young, too, ye enjoined modest and seemly thoughts; and the women ye charged to perform all their duties in a blameless and seemly and pure conscience, cherishing their own husbands, as is meet; and ye taught them to keep in the rule of obedience, and to manage the affairs of their household in seemliness, with all discretion.

2. And ye were all lowly in mind and free from arrogance, yielding rather than claiming submission, *more glad to give than to receive*, and content with the provisions which God supplieth. And giving heed unto his words, ye laid them up diligently in your hearts, and his sufferings were before your eyes. Thus a profound and rich peace was given to all, and an insatiable desire of doing good. An abundant outpouring also of the Holy Spirit fell upon all; and being full of holy counsel, in excellent zeal, and with a pious confidence, ye stretched out your hands to Almighty God, supplicating him



to be propitious, if unwittingly ye had committed any sin. Ye had conflict day and night for all the brotherhood, that the number of his elect might be saved with fearfulness and intentness of mind. Ye were sincere and simple and free from malice one toward another. Every sedition and every schism was abominable to you. Ye mourned over the transgressions of your neighbors; ye judged their shortcomings to be your own. Ye repented not of any well-doing, but were *ready unto every good work*. Being adorned with a most virtuous and honorable life, ye performed all your duties in the fear of him. The commandments and the ordinances of the Lord were *written on the tables of your hearts*.

3. All glory and enlargement was given unto you, and that was fulfilled which is written: *My beloved ate and drank and was enlarged and waxed fat and kicked*. Hence come jealousy and envy, strife and sedition, persecution and tumult, war and captivity. So men were stirred up, *the mean against the honorable*, the ill reputed against the highly reputed, the foolish against the wise, the young *against the elder*. For this cause *righteousness* and peace *stand aloof*, while each man hath forsaken the fear of the Lord and become purblind in the faith of him, neither walketh in the ordinances of his commandments, nor liveth according to that which becometh Christ, but each goeth after the lusts of his evil heart, seeing that they have conceived an unrighteous and ungodly jealousy, through which also *death entered into the world*.

4. For so it is written: *And it came to pass after certain days that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth a sacrifice unto God, and Abel he also brought of the firstlings of the sheep and of their fatness. And God looked upon Abel and upon his gifts, but unto Cain and unto his sacrifices he gave no heed. And Cain sorrowed exceedingly, and his countenance fell. And God*

said unto Cain, *Wherefore art thou very sorrowful? and wherefore did thy countenance fall? If thou hast offered aright and hast not divided aright, didst thou not sin? Hold thy peace. Unto thee shall he turn, and thou shalt rule over him. And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go over unto the plain. And it came to pass, while they were in the plain, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him.* Ye see, brethren, jealousy and envy wrought a brother's murder. By reason of jealousy our father Jacob ran away from the face of Esau his brother. Jealousy caused Joseph to be persecuted even unto death, and to come even to bondage. Jealousy compelled Moses to flee from the face of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, while it was said to him by his own countrymen, *Who made thee a judge or a decider over us? Wouldest thou slay me, even as yesterday thou slewest the Egyptian?* By reason of jealousy Aaron and Miriam were lodged outside the camp. Jealousy brought Dathan and Abiram down alive to Hades, because they made sedition against Moses, the servant of God. By reason of jealousy David was not only envied by aliens, but was persecuted also by Saul, king of Israel.

5. But, to pass from the examples of ancient days, let us come to those champions who lived nearest to our time. Let us set before us the noble examples which belong to our generation. By reason of jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars of the church were persecuted, and contended even unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good apostles. There was Peter, who by reason of unrighteous jealousy endured not one nor two but many labors, and thus having borne his testimony went to his appointed place of glory. By reason of jealousy and strife Paul by his example pointed out the prize of patient endurance. After that he had been seven times in bonds, had been

driven into exile, had been stoned, had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world, and having reached the farthest bounds of the West; and when he had borne his testimony before the rulers, so he departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having been found a notable pattern of patient endurance.

6. Unto these men of holy lives was gathered a vast multitude of the elect, who through many indignities and tortures, being the victims of jealousy, set a brave example among ourselves. By reason of jealousy matrons and maidens and slave-girls being persecuted, after they had suffered cruel and unholy insults, safely reached the goal in the race of faith, and received a noble reward, feeble though they were in body. Jealousy hath estranged wives from their husbands, and changed the saying of our father Adam, *This now is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh*. Jealousy and strife have overthrown great cities and uprooted great nations.

7. These things, dearly beloved, we write, not only as admonishing you, but also as putting ourselves in remembrance. For we are in the same lists, and the same contest awaiteth us. Wherefore let us forsake idle and vain thoughts; and let us conform to the glorious and venerable rule which hath been handed down to us; and let us see what is good and what is pleasant and what is acceptable in the sight of him that made us. Let us fix our eyes on the blood of Christ and understand how precious it is unto his Father, because being shed for our salvation it won for the whole world the grace of repentance. Let us review all the generations in turn, and learn how from generation to generation the Master hath given a place for repentance unto them that desire to turn to him.

Noah preached repentance, and they that obeyed were saved. Jonah preached destruction unto the men of Nineveh; but they, repenting of their sins, obtained pardon of God by their supplications and received salvation, albeit they were aliens from God.

8. The ministers of the grace of God through the Holy Spirit spake concerning repentance. Yea, and the Master of the universe himself spake concerning repentance with an oath: *For as I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of the sinner, so much as his repentance*; and he added also a merciful judgment: *Repent ye, O house of Israel, of your iniquity; say unto the sons of my people, Though your sins reach from the earth even unto the heaven, and though they be redder than scarlet and blacker than sackcloth, and ye turn unto me with your whole heart and say, Father, I will give ear unto you as unto an holy people.* And in another place he saith on this wise [Isa. i. 16-20, quoted very exactly]. Seeing then that he desireth all his beloved to be partakers of repentance, he confirmed it by an act of his almighty will.

9. Wherefore let us be obedient unto his excellent and glorious will; and presenting ourselves as suppliants of his mercy and goodness, let us fall down before him and betake ourselves unto his compassions, forsaking the vain toil and the strife and the jealousy which leadeth unto death. Let us fix our eyes on them that ministered perfectly unto his excellent glory. Let us set before us Enoch, who being found righteous in obedience was translated, and his death was not found. Noah, being found faithful, by his ministration preached regeneration unto the world, and through him the Master saved the living creatures that entered into the ark in concord.

10. Abraham, who was called the "friend," was

found faithful in that he rendered obedience unto the words of God. He through obedience went forth from his land and from his kindred and from his father's house, that leaving a scanty land and a feeble kindred and a mean house he might inherit the promises of God. For he saith unto him, *Go forth* [quoting Gen. xii. 1-3]. And again, when he was parted from Lot, God saith unto him, *Look up* [quoting Gen. xiii. 14-16]. And again he saith: *And God led Abraham forth and said unto him, Look up unto the heaven and count the stars, and see whether thou canst count them. So shall thy seed be. And Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness.* For his faith and hospitality a son was given unto him in old age, and by obedience he offered him a sacrifice unto God on one of the mountains which he showed him.

11. For his hospitality and godliness Lot was saved from Sodom, when all the country round about was judged by fire and brimstone; the Master having thus foreshown that he forsaketh not them which set their hope on him, but appointeth unto punishment and torment them which swerve aside. For when his wife had gone forth with him, being otherwise minded and not in accord, she was appointed for a sign hereunto, so that she became a pillar of salt unto this day, that it might be known unto all men that they which are double-minded and they which doubt concerning the power of God are set for a judgment and for a token unto all the generations.

12. For her faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot was saved. [Account of Rahab's harboring and saving the spies, from Josh. ii.] And moreover they gave her a sign, that she should hang out from her house a scarlet thread, thereby showing beforehand that through the blood of the Lord there shall be redemption unto all them that believe and hope

on God. Ye see, dearly beloved, not only faith, but prophecy, is found in the woman.

13. Let us therefore be lowly minded, brethren, laying aside all arrogance and conceit and folly and anger, and let us do that which is written. For the Holy Ghost saith: *Let not the wise man boast in his wisdom, nor the strong in his strength, neither the rich in his riches; but he that boasteth let him boast in the Lord, that he may seek him out, and do judgment and righteousness; most of all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which he spake, teaching forbearance and long-suffering; for thus he spake: Have mercy, that ye may receive mercy: forgive, that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done to you. As ye give, so shall it be given unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye show kindness, so shall kindness be shown unto you. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured withal to you.*

14. Therefore it is right and proper, brethren, that we should be obedient unto God, rather than follow those who in arrogance and unruliness have set themselves up as leaders in abominable jealousy. For we shall bring upōn us no common harm, but rather great peril, if we surrender ourselves recklessly to the purposes of men who launch out into strife and seditions, so as to estrange us from that which is right. Let us be good one toward another, according to the compassion and sweetness of him that made us. For it is written: *The good shall be dwellers in the land, and the innocent shall be left on it; but they that transgress shall be destroyed utterly from it.* And again he saith: *I saw the ungodly lifted up on high and exalted as the cedars of Lebanon. And I passed by and behold he was not; and I sought out his place and I found it not. Keep innocence and behold righteousness; for there is a remnant for the peaceful man.*

15. Therefore let us cleave unto them that prac-

tice peace with godliness, and not unto them that desire peace with dissimulation. For he saith in a certain place: *This people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me*; and again: *They blessed with their mouth, but they cursed with their heart*. And again he saith: *They loved him with their mouth, and with their tongue they lied unto him; and their heart was not upright with him, neither were they steadfast in his covenant*. For this cause, *Let the deceitful lips be made dumb which speak iniquity against the righteous*. And again: *May the Lord utterly destroy all the deceitful lips, the tongue that speaketh proud things, even them that say, Let us magnify our tongue; our lips are our own; who is Lord over us? For the misery of the needy and for the groaning of the poor I will now arise, saith the Lord. I will set him in safety; I will deal boldly by him*.

16. For Christ is with them that are lowly of mind, not with them that exalt themselves over the flock. The scepter of the majesty of God, even our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pomp of arrogance or of pride, though he might have done so, but in lowliness of mind, according as the Holy Spirit spake concerning him. For he saith [quoting the whole of Isa. liii.; also Ps. xxii. 6-8]. Ye see, dearly beloved, what is the pattern that hath been given unto us; for, if the Lord was thus lowly of mind, what should we do, who through him have been brought under the yoke of his grace?

17. Let us be imitators also of them which went about in goat-skins and sheep-skins, preaching the coming of Christ. We mean Elijah and Elisha, and likewise Ezekiel, the prophets, and besides them those men also that obtained a good report. Abraham obtained an exceeding good report, and was called the friend of God; and looking steadfastly on the glory of God, he saith in lowliness of mind, *But I am dust and ashes*. Moreover, con-

cerning Job also it is thus written: *And Job was righteous and unblamable, one that was true and honored God and abstained from all evil.* Yet he accuseth himself, saying, *No man is clean from filth; no, not though his life be but for a day.* Moses was called *faithful in all his house*, and through his ministration God judged Egypt with the plagues and the torments which befell them. Howbeit he also, though greatly glorified, yet spake no proud words, but said when an oracle was given to him at the bush, *Who am I, that thou sendest me? Nay, I am feeble of speech and slow of tongue.* And again he saith, *But I am smoke from the pot.*

18. But what must we say of David, that obtained a good report? of whom God said, *I have found a man after my heart, David the son of Jesse: with eternal mercy have I anointed him.* Yet he too saith unto God: *Have mercy* [quoting Ps. li. 1-17].

19. The humility, therefore, and the submissiveness of so many and so great men, who have thus obtained a good report, hath through obedience made better not only us, but also the generations which were before us, even them that received his oracles in fear and truth. Seeing then that we have been partakers of many great and glorious doings, let us hasten to return unto the goal of peace which hath been handed down to us from the beginning, and let us look steadfastly unto the Father and Maker of the whole world, and cleave unto his splendid and excellent gifts of peace and benefits. Let us behold him in our mind, and let us look with the eyes of our soul unto his long-suffering will. Let us note how free from anger he is toward all his creatures.

20. The heavens are moved by his direction and obey him in peace. Day and night accomplish the course assigned to them by him, without hindrance one to another. The sun and the moon



and the dancing stars according to his appointment circle in harmony within the bounds assigned to them, without any swerving aside. The earth, bearing fruit in fulfillment of his will at her proper seasons, putteth forth the food that supplieth abundantly both men and beasts and all living things which are thereupon, making no dissension, neither altering anything which he hath decreed. Moreover, the inscrutable depths of the abysses and the unutterable statutes of the nether regions are constrained by the same ordinances. The basin of the boundless sea, gathered together by his workmanship into its reservoirs, passeth not the barriers wherewith it is surrounded; but even as he ordered it, so it doeth. For he said, *So far shalt thou come, and thy waves shall be broken within thee.* The ocean which is impassable for men, and the worlds beyond it, are directed by the same ordinances of the Master. The seasons of spring and summer and autumn and winter give way in succession to one another in peace. The winds in their several quarters at their proper season fulfill their ministry without disturbance; and the ever-flowing fountains, created for enjoyment and health, without fail give their breasts which sustain the life of men. Yea, the smallest of living things come together in concord and peace. All these things the great Creator and Master of the universe ordered to be in peace and concord, doing good unto all things, but far beyond the rest unto us who have taken refuge in his compassionate mercies through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory and the majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

21. Look ye, brethren, lest his benefits, which are many, turn unto judgment to all of us, if we walk not worthily of him, and do those things which are good and well pleasing in his sight with concord. For he saith in a certain place, *The Spirit of the Lord*

is a lamp searching the closets of the belly. Let us see how near he is, and how that nothing escapeth him of our thoughts or our devices which we make. It is right, therefore, that we should not be deserters from his will. Let us rather give offense to foolish and senseless men who exalt themselves and boast in the arrogance of their words, than to God. Let us fear the Lord Jesus, whose blood was given for us. Let us reverence our rulers; let us honor our elders; let us instruct our young men in the lesson of the fear of God. Let us guide our women toward that which is good; let them show forth their lovely disposition of purity; let them prove their sincere affection of gentleness; let them make manifest the moderation of their tongue through silence; let them show their love, not in factious preferences, but without partiality toward all them that fear God, in holiness. Let our children be partakers of the instruction which is in Christ; let them learn how lowliness of mind prevaileth with God, what power chaste love hath with God, how the fear of him is good and great, and saveth all them that walk therein in a pure mind with holiness. For he is the searcher out of the intents and desires; whose breath is in us, and when he listeth he shall take it away.

22. Now all these things the faith which is in Christ confirmeth: for he himself through the Holy Spirit thus inviteth us: *Come* [quoting Ps. xxiv. 11-17, 18; also Ps. xxxii. 10].

23. The Father, who is pitiful in all things, and ready to do good, hath compassion on them that fear him, and kindly and lovingly bestoweth his favors on them that draw nigh unto him with a single mind. Wherefore let us not be double-minded, neither let our soul indulge in idle humors respecting his exceeding and glorious gifts. Let this scripture be far from us where he saith: *Wretched are*

*the double-minded, which doubt in their soul and say, These things we did hear in the days of our fathers also, and behold we have grown old, and none of these things hath befallen us. Ye fools, compare yourselves unto a tree; take a vine. First it sheddeth its leaves, then a shoot cometh, then a leaf, then a flower, and after these a sour berry, then a full ripe grape.\** Ye see that in a little time the fruit of the tree attaineth unto mellowness. Of a truth quickly and suddenly shall his will be accomplished, the scripture also bearing witness to it, saying: *He shall come quickly and shall not tarry; and the Lord shall come suddenly into his temple, even the Holy One, whom ye expect.*

24. Let us understand, dearly beloved, how the Master continually showeth unto us the resurrection that shall be hereafter; whereof he made the Lord Jesus Christ the first fruit, when he raised him from the dead. Let us behold, dearly beloved, the resurrection which happeneth at its proper season. Day and night show unto us the resurrection. The night falleth asleep, and the day ariseth; the day departeth, and night cometh on. Let us mark the fruits, how and in what manner the sowing taketh place. *The sower goeth forth* and casteth into the earth each of the seeds; and these, falling into the earth dry and bare, decay: then out of their decay the mightiness of the Master's providence raiseth them up, and from being one they increase manifold and bear fruit.

25. Let us consider the marvelous sign which is seen in the regions of the east, that is, in the parts about Arabia. There is a bird which is named the phœnix. This, being the only one of its kind, liveth for five hundred years; and when it hath now reached the time of its dissolution that it should die, it maketh for itself a coffin of frankincense and

\* Conjectured to be from the lost apocryphal book "Eldad and Modad," or from the "Assumption of Moses."

myrrh and the other spices, into the which in the fullness of time it entereth, and so it dieth. But as the flesh rotteth, a certain worm is engendered, which is nurtured from the moisture of the dead creature and putteth forth wings. Then, when it is grown lusty, it taketh up that coffin where are the bones of its parent, and carrying them journeyeth from the country of Arabia even unto Egypt, to the place called the City of the Sun; and in the daytime, in the sight of all, flying to the altar of the Sun, it layeth them thereupon; and this done, it setteth forth to return. So the priests examine the registers of the times, and they find that it hath come when the five hundredth year is completed.

26. Do we then think it to be a great and marvellous thing if the Creator of the universe shall bring about the resurrection of them that have served him with holiness in the assurance of a good faith, seeing that he showeth to us even by a bird the magnificence of his promise? For he saith in a certain place: *And thou shalt raise me up, and I will praise thee; and I went to rest and slept, and I was awaked, for thou art with me.* And again Job saith: *And thou shalt raise this my flesh which hath endured all these things.*

27. With this hope therefore let our souls be bound unto him that is faithful in his promises and that is righteous in his judgments. He that commanded not to lie, much more shall he himself not lie; for nothing is impossible with God save to lie. Therefore let our faith in him be kindled within us, and let us understand that all things are nigh unto him. By a word of his majesty he compacted the universe, and by a word he can destroy it. *Who shall say unto him, What hast thou done? or who shall resist the might of his strength?* When he listeth and as he listeth, he will do all things; and nothing shall pass away of those things that he hath

decreed. All things are in his sight, and nothing escapeth his counsel, seeing that *the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament proclaimeth his handiwork. Day uttereth word unto day, and night proclaimeth knowledge unto night; and there are neither words nor speeches, whose voices are not heard.*

28. Since therefore all things are seen and heard, let us fear him and forsake the abominable lusts of evil works, that we may be shielded by his mercy from the coming judgments. For where can any of us escape from his strong hand? And what world will receive any of them that desert from his service? For the holy writing saith in a certain part: *Where shall I go, and where shall I be hidden from thy face? If I ascend into the heaven, thou art there; if I depart into the farthest parts of the earth, there is thy right hand; if I make my bed in the depths, there is thy Spirit.* Whither then shall one depart, or where shall one flee, from him that embraceth the universe?

29. Let us therefore approach him in holiness of soul, lifting up pure and undefiled hands unto him, with love toward our gentle and compassionate Father, who made us an elect portion unto himself. For thus it is written: *When* [quoting Deut. xxxii. 8, 9]. And in another place he saith: *Behold, the Lord taketh for himself a nation out of the midst of the nations, as a man taketh the first fruits of his threshing floor; and the holy of holies shall come forth from that nation.*

30. Seeing then that we are the special portion of a holy God, let us do all things that pertain unto holiness, forsaking evil speakings, abominable and impure embraces, drunkennesses and tumults, and hateful lusts, abominable adultery, hateful pride; *for God, he saith, resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the lowly.* Let us therefore cleave unto those to whom grace is given from God. Let us clothe our-

selves in concord, being lowly-minded and temperate, holding ourselves aloof from all backbiting and evil speaking, being justified by works and not by words. For he saith: *He that saith much shall hear also again. Doth the ready talker think to be righteous? Blessed is the offspring of a woman that liveth but a short time. Be not thou abundant in words.\** Let our praise be with God, and not of ourselves; for God hateth them that praise themselves. Let the testimony to our well-doing be given by others, as it was given unto our fathers who were righteous. Boldness and arrogance and daring are for them that are accursed of God; but forbearance and humility and gentleness are with them that are blessed of God

31. Let us, therefore, cleave unto his blessing, and let us see what are the ways of blessing. Let us study the records of the things that have happened from the beginning. Wherefore was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith? Isaac with confidence, as knowing the future, was led a willing sacrifice. Jacob with humility departed from his land because of his brother, and went unto Laban and served; and the twelve tribes of Israel were given unto him.

32. If any man will consider them one by one in sincerity, he shall understand the magnificence of the gifts that are given by Him. For of Jacob are all the priests and Levites who minister unto the altar of God; of him is the Lord Jesus as concerning the flesh; of him are kings and rulers and governors in the line of Judah; yea, and the rest of his tribes are held in no small honor, seeing that God promised, saying, *Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven.* They all, therefore, were glorified and magnified, not through themselves or their own

\* The Septuagint rendering of Job xi. 2, 3.

works or the righteous doing which they wrought, but through his will. And so we, having been called through his will in Christ Jesus, are not justified through ourselves or through our own wisdom or understanding or piety or works which we wrought in holiness of heart, but through faith whereby the Almighty God justified all men that have been from the beginning; to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

33. What then must we do, brethren? Must we idly abstain from doing good, and forsake love? May the Master never allow this to befall us at least; but let us hasten with instancy and zeal to accomplish every good work. For the Creator and Master of the universe himself rejoiceth in his works. For by his exceeding great might he established the heavens, and in his incomprehensible wisdom he set them in order. And the earth he separated from the water that surroundeth it, and he set it firm on the sure foundation of his own will; and the living creatures which walk upon it he commanded to exist by his ordinance. Having before created the sea and the living creatures therein, he inclosed it by his own power. Above all, as the most excellent and exceeding great work of his intelligence, with his sacred and faultless hands he formed man in the impress of his own image. For thus saith God: *Let us make man after our image and after our likeness. And God made man; male and female made he them.* So, having finished all these things, he praised them and blessed them and said, *Increase and multiply.* We have seen that all the righteous were adorned in good works. Yea, and the Lord himself having adorned himself with good works rejoiced. Seeing then that we have this pattern, let us conform ourselves with all diligence to his will; let us with all our strength work the work of righteousness.

34. The good workman receiveth the bread of his work with boldness, but the slothful and careless dareth not look his employer in the face. It is, therefore, needful that we should be zealous unto well-doing, for of him are all things; since he forewarneth us, saying, *Behold the Lord, and his reward is before his face, to recompense each man according to his work.* He exhorteth us, therefore, to believe on him with our whole heart, and to be not idle nor careless unto every good work. Let our boast and our confidence be in him; let us submit ourselves to his will; let us mark the whole host of his angels, how they stand by and minister unto his will. For the scripture saith: *Ten thousands of ten thousands stood by him, and thousands of thousands ministered unto him; and they cried aloud, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth; all creation is full of his glory.* Yea, and let us ourselves then, being gathered together in concord with intentness of heart, cry unto him as from one mouth earnestly that we may be made partakers of his great and glorious promises. For he saith, *Eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man, what great things he hath prepared for them that patiently await him.*

35. How blessed and marvelous are the gifts of God, dearly beloved! Life in immortality, splendor in righteousness, truth in boldness, faith in confidence, temperance in sanctification! And all these things fall under our apprehension. What then, think ye, are the things preparing for them that patiently await him? The Creator and Father of the ages, the All-holy One himself, knoweth their number and their beauty. Let us therefore contend, that we may be found in the number of those that patiently await him, to the end that we may be partakers of his promised gifts. But how shall this be, dearly beloved? If our mind be fixed through



faith toward God; if we seek out those things which are well pleasing and acceptable unto him; if we accomplish such things as beseem his faultless will, and follow the way of truth, casting off from ourselves all unrighteousness and iniquity, covetousness, strifes, malignities and deceits, whisperings and backbitings, hatred of God, pride and arrogance, vainglory and inhospitality. For they that do these things are hateful to God; and not only they that do them, but they also that consent unto them. For the scripture saith: *But unto* [quoting Ps. l. 16-23].

36. This is the way, dearly beloved, wherein we found our salvation, even Jesus Christ the High Priest of our offerings, the Guardian and Helper of our weakness. Through him let us look steadfastly unto the heights of the heavens; through him we behold as in a mirror his faultless and most excellent visage; through him the eyes of our hearts were opened; through him our foolish and darkened mind springeth up unto the light; through him the Master willed that we should taste of immortal knowledge; *who being the brightness of his majesty is so much greater than angels as he hath inherited a more excellent name.* For so it is written: *Who maketh his angels spirits and his ministers a flame of fire;* but of his Son the Master saith thus: *Thou art my Son, I this day have begotten thee. Ask but of me, and I will give thee the gentiles for thine inheritance and the ends of the earth for thy possession.* And again he saith unto him: *Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies a footstool for thy feet.* Who then are these enemies? They that are wicked and resist his will.

37. Let us therefore enlist ourselves, brethren, with all earnestness in his faultless ordinances. Let us mark the soldiers that are enlisted under our rulers, how exactly, how readily, how submissively

they execute the orders given them. All are not prefects, nor rulers of thousands, nor rulers of hundreds, nor rulers of fifties, and so forth; but each man in his own rank executeth the orders given by the king and the governors. *The great without the small can not exist, neither the small without the great.* There is a certain mixture in all things, and therein is utility. Let us take our body as an example. The head without the feet is nothing; so likewise the feet without the head are nothing; even the smallest limbs of our body are necessary and useful for the whole body; but all members conspire and unite in subjection, that the whole body may be saved.

38. So in our case let the whole body be saved in Christ Jesus, and let each man be subject unto his neighbor, according as also he was appointed with his special grace. Let not the strong neglect the weak; and let the weak respect the strong. Let the rich minister aid to the poor; and let the poor give thanks to God, because he hath given him one through whom his wants may be supplied. Let the wise display his wisdom, not in good words, but in good works. He that is lowly in mind, let him not bear testimony to himself, but leave testimony to be borne to him by his neighbor. He that is pure in the flesh, let him be so, and not boast, knowing that it is Another who bestoweth his continence upon him. Let us consider, brethren, of what matter we were made; who and what manner of beings we were, when we came into the world; from what a sepulchre and what darkness he that molded us and created us brought us into his world, having prepared his benefits aforehand ere ever we were born. Seeing therefore that we have all these things from him, we ought in all things to give thanks to him, to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

39. Senseless and stupid and foolish and ignorant men jeer and mock at us, desiring that they themselves should be exalted in their imaginations. For what power hath a mortal? or what strength hath a child of earth? For it is written: *There* [quoting Job iv. 16 to v. 5].

40. Forasmuch then as these things are manifest beforehand, and we have searched into the depths of the divine knowledge, we ought to do all things in order, as many as the Master hath commanded us to perform at their appointed seasons. Now the offerings and ministrations he commanded to be performed with care, and not to be done rashly or in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons. And when and by whom he would have them performed he himself fixed by his supreme will: that all things being done with piety according to his good pleasure might be acceptable to his will. They therefore that make their offerings at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed; for while they follow the institutions of the Master they can not go wrong. For unto the high priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the Levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances.

41. Let each of you, brethren, in his own order give thanks unto God, maintaining a good conscience and not transgressing the appointed rule of his service, but acting with all seemliness. Not in every place, brethren, are the continual daily sacrifices offered, or the free-will offerings, or the sin offerings, and the trespass offerings, but in Jerusalem alone. And even there the offering is not made in every place, but before the sanctuary in the court of the altar; and this, too, through the high priest and the aforesaid ministers, after that the victim to be offered hath been inspected for blemishes. They

therefore who do anything contrary to the seemly ordinance of his will receive death as the penalty. Ye see, brethren, in proportion as greater knowledge hath been vouchsafed unto us, so much the more are we exposed to danger.

42. The apostles received the gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the apostles are from Christ. Both therefore came of the will of God in the appointed order. Having therefore received a charge, and having been fully assured through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and confirmed in the word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth with the glad tidings that the kingdom of God should come. So preaching everywhere in country and town, they appointed their first fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe. And this they did in no new fashion; for indeed it had been written concerning bishops and deacons from the very ancient times; for thus saith the scripture in a certain place, *I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith.*

43. And what marvel, if they which were intrusted in Christ with such a work by God appointed the aforesaid persons? seeing that even the blessed Moses, who was *a faithful servant in all his house*, recorded for a sign in the sacred books all things that were enjoined upon him. And him also the rest of the prophets followed, bearing witness with him unto the laws that were ordained by him. For he, when jealousy arose concerning the priesthood, and there was dissension among the tribes which of them was adorned with the glorious name, commanded the twelve chiefs of the tribes to bring to him rods inscribed with the name of each tribe. And he took them and tied them and sealed

them with the signet rings of the chiefs of the tribes, and put them away in the tabernacle of the testimony on the table of God. And having shut the tabernacle, he sealed the keys and likewise also the doors. And he said unto them, *Brethren, the tribe whose rod shall bud, this hath God chosen to be priests and ministers unto him.* Now when morning came he called together all Israel, even the six hundred thousand men, and showed the seals to the chiefs of the tribes, and opened the tabernacle of the testimony and drew forth the rods. And the rod of Aaron was found not only with buds, but also bearing fruit. What think ye, dearly beloved? Did not Moses know beforehand that this would come to pass? Assuredly he knew it. But that disorder might not arise in Israel, he did thus, to the end that the name of the true and only God might be glorified, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

44. And our apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterward they provided a continuance [gave instructions] that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those therefore who were appointed by them, or afterward by other men of repute with the consent of the whole church, and have ministered unblamably to the flock of Christ in lowliness of mind, peacefully and with all modesty, and for a long time have borne a good report with all—these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration. For it will be no light sin for us, if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblamably and holily. Blessed are those presbyters who have gone before, seeing that their departure

was fruitful and ripe; for they have no fear lest any one should remove them from their appointed place. For we see that ye have displaced certain persons, though they were living honorably from the ministration which they had kept blamelessly.

45. Be ye contentious, brethren, and jealous about the things that pertain unto salvation. Ye have searched the Scriptures, which are true, which were given through the Holy Ghost; and ye know that nothing unrighteous or counterfeit is written in them. Ye will not find that righteous persons have been thrust out by holy men. Righteous men were persecuted, but it was by the lawless; they were imprisoned, but it was by the unholy. They were stoned by transgressors; they were slain by those who had conceived a detestable and unrighteous jealousy. Suffering these things, they endured nobly. For what must we say, brethren? Was Daniel cast into the den of lions by them that feared God? Or were Ananias and Azarias and Misael shut up in the furnace of fire by them that professed the excellent and glorious worship of the Most High? Far be this from our thoughts. Who then were they that did these things? Abominable men and full of all wickedness were stirred up to such a pitch of wrath as to bring cruel suffering upon them that served God in a holy and blameless purpose, not knowing that the Most High is the champion and protector of them that in a pure conscience serve his excellent name: unto whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen. But they that endured patiently in confidence inherited glory and honor; they were exalted, and had their names recorded by God in their memorial for ever and ever. Amen.

46. To such examples as these therefore, brethren, we also ought to cleave. For it is written: *Cleave unto the saints, for they that cleave unto them*

*shall be sanctified.* And again he saith in another place: *With the guiltless man thou shalt be guiltless, and with the elect thou shalt be elect, and with the crooked thou shalt deal crookedly.* Let us therefore cleave to the guiltless and righteous; and these are the elect of God. Wherefore are these strifes and wraths and factions and divisions and war among you? Have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace that was shed upon us? And is there not one calling in Christ? Wherefore do we tear and rend asunder the members of Christ, and stir up factions against our own body, and reach such a pitch of folly as to forget that we are members one of another? Remember the words of Jesus our Lord; for he said: *Woe unto that man. It were good for him if he had not been born, rather than that he should offend one of mine elect. It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about him, and he cast into the sea, than that he should pervert one of mine elect.* Your division hath perverted many; it hath brought many to despair, many to doubting, and all of us to sorrow. And your sedition still continueth.

47. Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What wrote he first unto you in the beginning of the gospel? Of a truth he charged you in the Spirit concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because that even then ye had made parties. Yet that making of parties brought less sin upon you; for ye were partisans of apostles that were highly reputed, and of a man approved in their sight. But now mark ye, who they are that have perverted you and diminished the glory of your renowned love for the brotherhood. It is shameful, dearly beloved, yes, utterly shameful and unworthy of your conduct in Christ, that it should be reported that the very steadfast and ancient church of the Corinthians, for the sake of one or two per-

sons, maketh sedition against its presbyters. And this report hath reached not only us, but them also which differ from us, so that ye even heap blasphemies on the name of the Lord by reason of your folly, and moreover create peril for yourselves.

48. Let us therefore root this out quickly, and let us fall down before the Master and entreat him with tears, that he may show himself propitious and be reconciled unto us, and may restore us to the seemly and pure conduct which belongeth to our love of the brethren. For this is a gate of righteousness opened unto life, as it is written: *Open me the gates of righteousness, that I may enter in thereby and praise the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter in thereby.* Seeing then that many gates are opened, this is that gate which is in righteousness, even that which is in Christ, whereby all are blessed that have entered in and direct their path in holiness and righteousness, performing all things without confusion. Let a man be faithful, let him be able to expound a deep saying, let him be wise in the discernment of words, let him be strenuous in deeds, let him be pure; for so much the more ought he to be lowly in mind, in proportion as he seemeth to be the greater; and he ought to seek the common advantage of all, and not his own.

49. Let him that hath love in Christ fulfill the commandments of Christ. Who can declare the bond of the love of God? Who is sufficient to tell the majesty of its beauty? The height whereunto love exalteth is unspeakable. Love joineth us unto God; love covereth a multitude of sins; love endureth all things, is long-suffering in all things. There is nothing coarse, nothing arrogant in love. Love hath no divisions; love maketh no seditions; love doeth all things in concord. In love were all the elect of God made perfect; without love no-



thing is well pleasing to God; in love the Master took us unto himself; for the love which he had toward us, Jesus Christ our Lord hath given his blood for us by the will of God, and his flesh for our flesh and his life for our lives.

50. Ye see, dearly beloved, how great and marvelous a thing is love, and there is no declaring its perfection. Who is sufficient to be found therein, save those to whom God shall vouchsafe it? Let us therefore entreat and ask of his mercy that we may be found blameless in love, standing apart from the factiousness of men. All the generations from Adam unto this day have passed away; but they that by God's grace were perfected in love dwell in the abode of the pious; and they shall be made manifest in the visitation of the kingdom of God. For it is written: *Enter into the closet for a very little while, until mine anger and my wrath shall pass away, and I will remember a good day and will raise you from your tombs.* Blessed were we, dearly beloved, if we should be doing the commandments of God in concord of love, to the end that our sins may through love be forgiven us. For it is written: *Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord shall impute no sin, neither is guile in his mouth.* This declaration of blessedness was pronounced upon them that have been elected by God through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

51. For all our transgressions which we have committed through any wiles of the adversary, let us entreat that we may obtain forgiveness. Yea, and they also who set themselves up as leaders of faction and division ought to look to the common ground of hope. For such as walk in fear and love desire that they themselves should fall into suffering rather than their neighbors; and they pro-

nounce condemnation against themselves rather than against the harmony which hath been handed down to us nobly and righteously. For it is good for a man to make confession of his trespasses rather than to harden his heart, as the heart of those was hardened who made sedition against Moses the servant of God; whose condemnation was clearly manifest, for they went down to hades alive, and *Death shall be their shepherd.* Pharaoh and his host and all the rulers of Egypt, *their chariots and their horsemen,* were overwhelmed in the depths of the Red Sea, and perished for none other reason but because their foolish hearts were hardened after that the signs and the wonders had been wrought in the land of Egypt by the hand of Moses the servant of God.

52. The Master, brethren, hath need of nothing at all. He desireth not anything of any man, save to confess unto him. For the elect David saith: *I will confess unto the Lord, and it shall please him more than a young calf that groweth horns and hoofs. Let the poor see it, and rejoice.* And again He saith: *Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows to the Most High; and call upon me in the day of thine affliction, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me. For a sacrifice unto God is a broken spirit.*

53. For ye know, and know well, the sacred scriptures, dearly beloved, and ye have searched into the oracles of God. We write these things therefore to put you in remembrance. When Moses went up into the mountain and had spent forty days and forty nights in fasting and humiliation, God said unto him: *Moses, Moses, come down quickly hence, for my people whom thou leddest forth from the land of Egypt have wrought iniquity; they have transgressed quickly out of the way which thou didst command unto them: they have made for themselves molten images.* And the Lord said unto him: *I*

*have spoken unto thee once and twice, saying, I have seen this people, and behold it is stiff-necked. Let me destroy them utterly, and I will blot out their names from under heaven, and I will make of thee a nation great and wonderful and numerous more than this. And Moses said: Nay, not so, Lord. Forgive this people their sin, or blot me also out of the book of the living.* O mighty love! O unsurpassable perfection! The servant is bold with his Master; he asketh forgiveness for the multitude, or he demandeth that himself also be blotted out with them.

54. Who therefore is noble among you? Who is compassionate? Who is fulfilled with love? Let him say: If by reason of me there be faction and strife and divisions, I retire, I depart, whither ye will, and I do that which is ordered by the people; only let the flock of Christ be at peace with its duly appointed presbyters. He that shall have done this, shall win for himself great renown in Christ, and every place will receive him; *for the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof.* Thus have they done and will do that live as citizens of that kingdom of God which bringeth no regrets.

55. But, to bring forward examples of Gentiles also: Many kings and rulers, when some season of pestilence pressed upon them, being taught by oracles, have delivered themselves over to death, that they might rescue their fellow citizens through their own blood. Many have retired from their own cities, that they might have no more seditions. We know that many among ourselves have delivered themselves to bondage, that they might ransom others. Many have sold themselves to slavery, and, receiving the price paid for themselves, have fed others. Many women, being strengthened through the grace of God, have performed many manly deeds. The blessed Judith, when the city was beleaguered, asked of the elders that she might be suf-

ferred to go forth into the camp of the aliens. So she exposed herself to peril and went forth for love of her country and of her people which were beleaguered; and the Lord delivered Holophernes into the hands of a woman. To no less peril did Esther also, who was perfect in faith, expose herself, that she might deliver the twelve tribes of Israel, when they were on the point to perish. For through her fasting and her humiliation she entreated the all-seeing Master, the God of the ages; and he, seeing the humility of her soul, delivered the people for whose sake she encountered the peril.

56. Therefore let us also make intercession for them that are in any transgression, that forbearance and humanity may be given them, to the end that they may yield, not unto us, but unto the will of God. For so shall the compassionate remembrance of them with God and the saints be fruitful unto them, and perfect. Let us accept chastisement, whereat no man ought to be vexed, dearly beloved. The admonition which we give one to another is good and exceeding useful; for it joineth us unto the will of God. For thus saith the holy word: *The Lord hath indeed chastened me, and hath not delivered me over unto death. For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. For the righteous, it is said, shall chasten me in mercy and shall reprove me, but let not the mercy of sinners anoint my head.* And again he saith: *Blessed* [quoting Job v. 17-26]. Ye see, dearly beloved, how great protection there is for them that are chastened by the Master; for, being a kind father, he chasteneth us to the end that we may obtain mercy through his holy chastisement.

57. Ye therefore that laid the foundation of the sedition, submit yourselves unto the presbyters and receive chastisement unto repentance, bending the knees of your heart. Learn to submit yourselves,

laying aside the arrogant and proud stubbornness of your tongue. For it is better for you to be found little in the flock of Christ and to have your name on God's roll than to be had in exceeding honor and yet be cast out from the hope of him. For thus saith the All-virtuous Wisdom: *Behold* [quoting Prov. i. 23-33].

58. Let us therefore be obedient unto his most holy and glorious name, thereby escaping the threatenings which were spoken of old by the mouth of wisdom against them which disobey, that we may dwell safely, trusting in the most holy name of his majesty. Receive our counsel, and ye shall have no occasion of regret. For as God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, who are the faith and the hope of the elect, so surely shall he, who with lowliness of mind and instant in gentleness hath without regretfulness performed the ordinances and commandments that are given by God, be enrolled and have a name among the number of them that are saved through Jesus Christ, through whom is the glory unto him for ever and ever. Amen.

59. But if certain persons should be disobedient unto the words spoken by him through us, let them understand that they will entangle themselves in no slight transgression and danger; but we shall be guiltless of this sin. And we will ask, with instance of prayer and supplication, that the Creator of the universe may guard intact unto the end the number that hath been numbered of his elect throughout the whole world, through his beloved son Jesus Christ, through whom he called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to the full knowledge of the glory of his name.

Grant unto us, Lord, that we may set our hope on thy name, which is the primal source of all creation, and open the eyes of our hearts, that we may

know thee, who alone *abidest Highest in the highest, Holy in the holy*; who *layest low the insolence of the proud*; who *scatterest the imaginings of nations*; who *settest the lowly on high, and bringest the lofty low*; who *makest rich and makest poor*; who *killest and makest alive*; who alone art the Benefactor of spirits and the God of all flesh; who *lookest into the abysses*; who *scannest the works of man*; the Succor of them that are in peril, the *Saviour of them that are in despair*; the Creator and Overseer of every spirit; who *multipliest the nations upon earth, and hast chosen out from all men those that love thee through Jesus Christ, thy beloved son, through whom thou didst instruct us, didst sanctify us, didst honor us.* We beseech thee, Lord and Master, to be our help and succor. Save those among us who are in tribulation; have mercy on the lowly; lift up the fallen; show thyself unto the needy; heal the ungodly; convert the wanderers of thy people; feed the hungry; release our prisoners; raise up the weak; comfort the faint-hearted. Let all the Gentiles know that *thou art God alone, and Jesus Christ is thy son, and we are thy people and the sheep of thy pasture.*

60. Thou through thine operations didst make manifest the everlasting fabric of the world. Thou, Lord, didst create the earth. Thou that art faithful throughout all generations, righteous in thy judgments, marvelous in strength and excellence, thou that art wise in creating and prudent in establishing that which thou hast made, that art good in the things which are seen and faithful with them that trust on thee, pitiful and compassionate, forgive us our unrighteousnesses and our transgressions and shortcomings. Lay not to our account every sin of thy servants and thine handmaids, but cleanse us with the cleansing of thy truth, and guide our steps to walk in holiness and righteousness and sin-

gleness of heart, and to do such things as are good and well pleasing in thy sight and in the sight of our rulers. Yea, Lord, make thy face to shine upon us in peace for our good, that we may be sheltered by thy mighty hand and delivered from every sin by thine uplifted arm. And deliver us from them that hate us wrongfully. Give concord and peace to us and to all that dwell on the earth, as thou gavest to our fathers, when they called on thee in faith and truth with holiness, that we may be saved, while we render obedience to thine almighty and excellent name, and to our rulers and governors upon the earth.

61. Thou, Lord and Master, hast given them the power of sovereignty through thine excellent and unspeakable might, that we, knowing the glory and honor which thou hast given them, may submit ourselves unto them, in nothing resisting thy will. Grant unto them therefore, O Lord, health, peace, concord, stability, that they may administer the government which thou hast given them without failure. For thou, O Heavenly Master, King of the ages, givest to the sons of men glory and honor and power over all things that are upon the earth. Do thou, Lord, direct their counsel according to that which is good and well pleasing in thy sight, that, administering in peace and gentleness with godliness the power which thou hast given them, they may obtain thy favor. O thou, who alone art able to do these things and things far more exceeding good than these for us, we praise thee through the High Priest and Guardian of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be the glory and the majesty unto thee both now and for all generations, and for ever and ever. Amen.

62. As touching those things which befit our religion and are most useful for a virtuous life to such as would guide their steps in holiness and

righteousness, we have written fully unto you, brethren. For concerning faith and repentance and genuine love and temperance and sobriety and patience we have handled every argument, putting you in remembrance that ye ought to please Almighty God in righteousness and truth and long-suffering with holiness, laying aside malice and pursuing concord in love and peace, being instant in gentleness; even as our fathers, of whom we spake before, pleased him, being lowly-minded toward their Father and God and Creator and toward all men. And we have put you in mind of these things the more gladly, since we knew that we were writing to men who are faithful and highly accounted, and have diligently searched into the oracles of the teaching of God.

63. Therefore it is right for us to give heed to so great and so many examples, and to submit the neck, and, occupying the place of obedience, to take our side with them that are the leaders of our souls, that ceasing from this foolish dissension we may attain unto the goal which lieth before us in truthfulness, keeping aloof from every fault. For ye will give us great joy and gladness, if ye render obedience unto the things written by us through the Holy Spirit, and root out the unrighteous anger of your jealousy, according to the entreaty which we have made for peace and concord in this letter. And we have also sent faithful and prudent men that have walked among us from youth unto old age unblamably, who shall also be witnesses between you and us. And this we have done that ye might know that we have had, and still have, every solicitude that ye should be speedily at peace.

64. Finally, may the All-seeing God and Master of spirits and Lord of all flesh, who chose the Lord Jesus Christ, and us through him for a peculiar people, grant unto every soul that is called after his



excellent and holy name faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, temperance, chastity, and soberness, that they may be well pleasing unto his name through our High Priest and Guardian Jesus Christ, through whom unto him be glory and majesty, might and honor, both now and for ever and ever. Amen.

65. Now send ye back speedily unto us our messengers Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, together with Fortunatus also, in peace and with joy, to the end that they may the more quickly report the peace and concord which is prayed for and earnestly desired by us, that we also may the more speedily rejoice over your good order.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all men in all places who have been called by God, and through him, through whom is glory and honor, power and greatness, and eternal dominion, unto him, from the ages past and for ever and ever. Amen.

#### CLEMENTINE LITERATURE.

Besides the letters ascribed to Clement, three works of considerable size have borrowed the sanction of his name: the "Clementine Homilies," the "Recognitions of Clement," and the "Apostolical Constitutions." The two former of these are simply two recensions of the same work, which is a religious romance embodying what purport to be discourses of the Apostle Peter. It is evidently an Ebionitic production, that is, a work of that branch of the church which retained so strong a Jewish character as to be deemed heretical by Catholic Christians. Its date is variously estimated from the middle of

the second to the middle of the third century. Scholars differ as to which of the present forms was prior, and as to whether or not both were rewritten from some more primitive document. On the supposition that they were so rewritten, the original must recede very near to the earlier date named. Of the two, the "Homilies" are the more heretical, an effort having evidently been made to bring the "Recognitions" into harmony with the teachings of the church. Save in details the narrative of both the forms is the same.

#### THE STORY OF THE RECOGNITIONS.

Clement, a Roman citizen pondering the mysteries of life, falls into great perplexity, and determines to go to Egypt to make inquiry as to the immortality of the soul. About this time tidings come to Rome of a certain One in Judea who is preaching of the kingdom of God, and soon a disciple of His, Barnabas, appears and proclaims the Gospel, which induces Clement to set out for Judea. [The "Homilies" make Clement and Barnabas meet at Alexandria, whither Clement had been driven by adverse winds.]

Coming to Cæsarea, Clement is introduced to Peter, who, under the direction of the other apostles who have just been driven from Jerusalem, has come there to oppose Simon Magus. A public discussion has been arranged; but, it being delayed for a time, Peter discourses to Clement on the preparatory Jewish dispensation, the coming and rejection of the true Prophet, and the recent history of the church. [In the "Homilies" this instruction to Clement is different, being of an esoteric nature,

and declaring the text of Scripture (O. T.) to be corrupt.] The disputation with Simon lasts three days, after which Simon flies. Peter determines to follow him to the Gentile world. Having ordained Zaccheus bishop of Cæsarea, and having baptized ten thousand converts, he sets out for Tripolis, first sending before him twelve men to prepare the way. Two of the converts are Niceta and Aquila, who had been followers of Simon. Peter goes by way of Dora to Tripolis, and after preaching there three months, and baptizing many converts, he goes on toward Antioch. [The "Homilies," having given only part of the discussion, say that Simon flies to Tyre; that Clement, Niceta, and Aquila are sent thither by Peter; that Clement has a discussion with Appion on mythology; that Peter then comes by way of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytas to Tripolis.] Journeying from Tripolis, Clement relates to Peter his family history. In his youth his mother, having had a warning vision, had sailed away from Rome with his infant twin brothers, and had never been heard from afterward. His father, going in search of them, had never returned, so that he was now alone in the world. Soon after this Peter and Clement make an excursion to the island of Aradus, where a beggar woman, telling the story of her life, proves to be Clement's mother. Resuming their journey, they come to Laodicea, the mother accompanying them. Here the repetition of her story leads to the recognition of Niceta and Aquila as the twin brothers of Clement, who, after they had been shipwrecked with their mother, had been picked up and sold as slaves. After this Peter and the three brothers meet on the sea-shore an old man poorly clad, who yet proves to be very learned, and who enters into a discussion with the Christians which continues several days. His favorite doctrine is that of *genesis*, a doctrine of fates, in illus-

tration of which he tells the story of his own life; how, owing to a certain conjunction of the stars, his wife had been compelled to commit adultery with a slave, and to sail away to meet her death by shipwreck. This leads to explanations and another recognition, the old man proving to be Faustinianus, the husband and father of the long separated family. After this we have a discourse by Clement on the heathen mythology, and then an account of the transformation of Faustinianus by the magic of Simon Magus, so that his face is the counterpart of Simon's. Peter, after using this false appearance to work harm to Simon, restores to Faustinianus his own face; the latter is baptized, and all ends happily. [In the "Homilies" the main disputation between Peter and Simon occurs here at Laodicea, Clement's father acting as umpire.]

This narrative as it appears in the "Homilies" is preceded by two letters: one from Peter to James, saying that the teachings of the book are to be withheld from the multitude; and one from Clement to James, announcing Peter's martyrdom and his own succession to the bishopric of Rome.

#### DOCTRINE OF THE WORKS.

Both are Ebionitic, but the "Homilies" are the more pronounced. Judaism and Christianity, according to the "Homilies," are substantially the same; to receive either Moses or Christ is sufficient. In the "Recognitions" both must be received. The "Homilies" reject sacrifices utterly, declaring the passages of Scripture favoring them to be corrupt. The "Recognitions" say that sacrifices were

divinely prescribed until the true Prophet should replace them by baptism. The "Homilies" say that the true Prophet had been incarnate repeatedly, first in Adam and lastly in Jesus. The "Recognitions" only teach that he had revealed himself to and inspired other holy men. The dignity of Christ is greater here than in the "Homilies"; but neither work gives Him the New Testament rank.

These works have been deemed of great importance by writers of the Tübingen school, as contributing to their theory that the primitive Christianity was extremely Judaistic (Petrine), and that, after a sharp contest, it was supplanted by the present (Pauline) faith.

#### THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

The "Apostolical Constitutions" is a collection of ecclesiastical regulations purporting to come from the Apostles. It is composed of eight books, not all of like origin. Their value has been very variously estimated. Whiston claimed that they were "the most sacred of the canonical books of the New Testament," having been "delivered at Jerusalem, and in Mt. Sion, by our Saviour to the eleven apostles there assembled after the resurrection"; while most writers bring their date down into the neighborhood of the Nicene age, and some place it as late as the fifth and sixth centuries. There are three parts to the work: 1, the first six books; 2, the seventh book; and 3, the eighth book. Book seventh is thought to be a rewriting of books first to

sixth, perhaps as a summary or appendix. Book eighth has been identified by Bunsen with the work of Hippolytus on "Gifts." At the close of this book are found

#### THE APOSTOLICAL CANONS.

These are a collection of fifty (Western Church) or eighty-five (Eastern Church) ecclesiastical canons, purporting to come from the Holy Apostles. The Eastern Church regards them as genuine and authoritative; the Roman Church does not. Their compilation in the present form dates from A. D. 500 in the West, and from A. D. 550 in the East. As to the origin of their contents, opinions differ. Bishop Beveridge, a conservative writer, while not claiming their apostolic origin, contended that they were the decrees of synods of the latter part of the second or early part of the third century, and that they were formed into a codex in the third century. Von Drey thinks the fifty canons were collected in the early part of the fifth century, partly from decrees of Post-Nicene councils, partly from the "Constitutions," the other thirty-five canons having been added later.

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#### IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH.

THE evident antiquity of certain of the so-called Ignatian letters, and the important place which these letters have held in ecclesiastical discussions, have

given to Ignatius himself a prominence which he would not otherwise hold. This father, as we learn from Eusebius, was the second bishop of Antioch after Peter. We know nothing certain of his history, save that of his last days, though the "Acts of Martyrdom" declare that he was a disciple of the Apostle John. "Tradition says [Euseb., "Eccl. Hist.," iii. 36] that he was sent away from Syria to Rome, and was cast as food to wild beasts, on account of his testimony to Christ; and that being carried through Asia under a most rigid custody, he fortified the different churches in the cities where he tarried by his discourses and exhortations, particularly cautioning them against the heresies which even then were springing up and prevailing. He exhorted them to adhere firmly to the tradition of the apostles; which, for the sake of greater security, he deemed it necessary to attest by committing it to writing." Eusebius mentions by name seven epistles—to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians, the Romans, the Philadelphians, the Smyrneans, and to Polycarp—which he says were written by Ignatius, on his way to Rome. For the particulars of his martyrdom, we have only the questionable testimony of the "Acts of Martyrdom of Ignatius," of which we have no trace before the sixth century, though Irenæus refers to the fact of his having been condemned to the wild beasts. The date most commonly assigned to the martyrdom is Dec. 20, A. D. 116. The legends as to Ignatius's having been taken into Christ's arms when a child, and as to his having had a vision of angels singing antiphonally to the Holy Trinity, are only legends.

The Ignatian epistles have long been divided into two classes, known as the genuine and the spurious epistles. The former class has commonly embraced the seven letters mentioned by Eusebius, and these are known to us, in Greek, in two forms, the longer and the shorter recensions. Of these, the first was the earlier known to modern scholars; but the manifest corruption of the text led to researches by Archbishop Usher, which resulted in the discovery, first of two Latin texts, and then of a Greek text, of the shorter recension. These were published, the Latin in 1644 by Usher, and the Greek in 1646 by Vossius; and in time they had come to be regarded by most scholars as the genuine letters of Ignatius, the longer form being looked upon as an interpolation. After two hundred years, however, a new discovery was made, which again left the "Ignatian question" an open one. This was the finding at a Nitrian convent in 1843 of two very ancient Syriac manuscripts of the Ignatian epistles. Instead of the seven epistles of the Vossian collection, these manuscripts contained only three, the epistles to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans, and these in a shorter form than that of the Greek collection. These three were confidently claimed by their first editor, Cureton, and by Bunsen, who also edited them, to be *the* epistles of Ignatius, as opposed to the seven Vossian epistles. Into the discussion which this claim awakened, or into the more recent discussions which have followed upon the discovery of an Armenian translation from the Syriac of all seven of the epistles, it is not needful here to enter. It



is sufficient to say that, in preparing this book, the judgment of Bishop Lightfoot, as expressed in his review of "Supernatural Religion," has been deemed a safe one. This judgment was that the three Curetonian epistles might be confidently received as *genuine*, and that the seven Vossian epistles might be looked upon as authoritative for the middle of the second century. Guided by this principle, our text presents, as the indisputably genuine works of Ignatius, the three short or Syriac epistles. Bunsen's translation has been preferred to the Curetonian, and is given without change.

#### THE THREE EPISTLES OF ST. IGNATIUS.

##### A.—*The Epistle to Polycarp.*

Ignatius [who also is Theophoros] to Polycarp, overseer of the Smyrneans, who rather is overseen by God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, much greeting.

1. Heartily welcoming thy mind, which in God is founded as upon an immovable rock, I praise God the more abundantly for having been accounted worthy to behold thy unblamable countenance, of which may I have to rejoice in God! I beseech thee, by the grace with which thou art clothed, that thou add to thy course, and exhort all men to be saved. Make thy office to be respected with all diligence both of body and spirit. Be careful for unanimity, than which there is nothing more excellent. Bear all men even as the Lord beareth thee. Have patience with all in love, even as thou doest. Be instant in prayer. Ask for more understanding than thou hast. Watch, for thou hast already a spirit that sleepeth not. Speak to every one accord-

ing to the manner in which God speaketh. Bear the infirmities of all men like a perfect athlete; for where there is much labor, much also is the gain. If thou love the good disciples only, thou hast no grace; rather subdue by meekness those who are evil. All wounds are not healed by one salve. Allay paroxysm by embrocation. Be wise as the serpent in everything, and harmless as the dove. For this reason art thou both of flesh and of spirit, that thou mayest be persuasive as to those things which appear to thee before thy face, and mayest ask for the things invisible that they may be revealed to thee, in order that thou mayest be deficient in nothing and mayest abound in all gifts; which it is time thou shouldst pray for, as the pilot for the wind and as he who is tossed by the tempest for the harbor, that thou mayest attain God. Be vigilant as God's athlete. The meed is incorruptibility and life eternal, of which things thou also art persuaded. In everything I pledge for thy soul myself and my bonds, which thou hast loved. Let not those confound thee who, appearing worthy of truth, teach strange doctrines. Stand in the truth like an anvil which is struck, for it becomes a great athlete to be struck and to conquer. More especially on God's account it behooveth us to endure everything, that he also may endure us. Be careful more than thou art. Be discerning of the times. Expect him who is above times, him to whom there are no times, him who is unseen, him who for our sakes became seen, him who is impalpable, him who is without suffering, him who for our sakes suffered, him who for our sakes endured everything in every form.

2. Let not the widows be neglected; after our Lord be thou their guardian. Let nothing be done without thy will, neither do thou anything without the will of God; nor indeed doest thou. Stand

well. Let the meetings be more frequent; seek to know every man personally. Despise not the slaves, male and female, neither let them be puffed up; but as for the glory of God let them work more, that they may be meet for that more excellent liberty which is of God. Let them not desire to be redeemed from the common stock, that they may not be found the slaves of lust. Fly the coquetting women, but the more hold converse with the aged matrons. Say to my sisters that they love the Lord, and that they be content with their husbands in body and spirit. Likewise charge my brothers in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they love their wives as the Lord his church. If a man be able to continue in chastity of body for the honor of our Lord, let him continue without boasting; if he boast, he is lost: if he have made it known to anybody except the bishop, he is gone into perdition. It is becoming to men and women who marry, that they be married by the counsel of the bishop, that the marriage may be made according to the Lord and not according to lust. Let everything be done for the honor of God.

3. Keep ye to the bishop, that God also may keep to you. I pledge my soul for those who are subject to the bishop and the presbyters and deacons: may my portion with God be with them! Labor together, struggle together, run together, go to sleep together, rise together as God's stewards and intimate friends and ministers. Please him under whom you serve, from whom you also receive the wages. Let no man be found a deserter. Let your baptism be to you as armor, and faith as a helmet, and love as a spear, and patience as a panoply. Let your credit be your good works, that ye may get paid out what is worthy of you. Have patience in meekness as God has with you. May I have to rejoice in you at all times! The Christian has not

power over himself, but is in the service of God. I salute him who is deemed worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, as I charged thee.

B.—*The Epistle to the Ephesians.*

Ignatius [who also is Theophoros] to the church which is blessed in the greatness and fullness of the Father, to her *who is* preordained before the world to be for ever unto lasting and unchangeable glory, perfected and elected in a true purpose in the will of the Father of Jesus Christ our God; to the most blissworthy church which is in Ephesus, all hail in Jesus Christ in pure joy!

1. Since I have received in God that much-loved manifestation which you have rightmindedly made according to the faith and love in Jesus Christ our Saviour, because, as those who imitate God, you have been excited in your blood fully to accomplish the Godlike work; for when you had heard that I was bound *and prevented* from visiting *you* on account of our common name and hope, trusting in your prayer (to obtain) to be thrown among the beasts at Rome, in order that by achieving this I might be enabled to be a disciple of God, you have made haste to see me—since, therefore, I have in the name of God received the visit of all of you in the person of one, nay, *who* in unspeakable love *is* your bishop—and I pray in Jesus Christ that you may love him and that you may all be like him, for blessed is he who has vouchsafed you to be worthy of having such a bishop—since, then, love does not allow me to be silent toward you, on this account I have chosen to exhort you to conform to the will of God. For when no lust worketh in you with power to torment you, ye live according to God. Your off-scouring is also your sanctification, O Ephesians! Ye of that church which is renowned in the

world! Carnal men can not do spiritual things, nor spiritual men carnal things; just as faith can not do the things of unbelief, nor unbelief those of faith. But even the works you do according to the flesh are spiritual works; for you do all in Jesus Christ, prepared *as you are* for the building of God the Father, carried up to the height through the engine of Jesus Christ which is the cross, using the Holy Spirit as the rope, while faith is the pulley and love the way carrying up to God.

2. As to other men, pray for them—for there is hope of their repenting—that they may be partakers of God. Give them opportunity of becoming your disciples even by your works. Against their lofty words put humility, and against their blaspheming meekness in constant prayers, against their seduction firmness in the faith, against their violence mildness; not striving to imitate them. But by meekness let us strive to be imitators of the Lord, than whom who was ever more wronged? or deprived? or depressed? For it is not a question of promise, but whether one be found in the strength of faith even unto the end. Rather than to speak and to be nothing, it is better to be silent and to be *something*, in order that one may work by what one speaks, and may be known by what one is silent about.

3. My spirit boweth down before the cross, which is a scandal to the unbelieving, but to us salvation and life eternal. Thus were hidden from the prince of this world the virginity of Mary, and the birth and death of the Lord; three shouting mysteries *were* operated in God's quietness. From *the appearance of* the star and the manifestation thereby of the Son, every magic power disappeared, and every bond was dissolved, and the old kingdom, and the ignorance of wickedness perished. From that time everything was put in commotion,

because the dissolution of death was meditated, and what was ordained with God took its beginning.

C.—*The Epistle to the Romans.*

Ignatius [who also is Theophoros] to the church which has found mercy by the greatness of the Father most high, to her who presides in dignity over the country of the Romans, to her who is worthy of God and is worthy of her honorable position, worthy of being called blessed, worthy of praise and worthy that her prayer be heard, who excelleth before all in love, and hath Christ for her law blamelessly, much greeting!

1. Having long since prayed to God that I might be worthy to see your God-worthy faces, I now hope that I shall salute you, *being* bound in Jesus Christ, if it be God's will that I should be deemed worthy of God to the end. For the beginning has been well disposed, if I attain to receive without hindrance my portion at last by suffering. For I am fearful of your love, lest it should injure me. For to you it is easy to do whatsoever you please; but for me, it is difficult that I should attain God, if indeed you do not spare me. For I shall not have such opportunity to attain God; nor will ye, if ye now be silent, ever have the benefit of a better work. If ye keep silence about me, I shall become God's speech; but if ye love my body, I shall be again an echo of myself. Do not try to give me anything better than this, that I should be sacrificed to God whilst the altar is prepared, that ye, becoming a loving choir, may praise the Father in Christ Jesus that he deemed the bishop worthy to be God's, when he called him from the rising *of the sun* to the setting. It is good that I should set from the world to God, that I may rise into him. Ye have never envied any man. Ye have taught

others. Only pray for strength from within and from without, that I may not only speak, but also may will; that I may not be called only a Christian, but also may be found to be one: for if I am found to be, I am also fit to be called, faithful even when not appearing in the world. Nothing, indeed, that *is only* appearing is good: for Christianity is not a work of persuasion, but of high-mindedness, when hated by the world.

2. I write to the churches, and I declare to all, that willingly I die for God, if it be that you hinder me not. I beg of you, do not become to me an unseasonable love. Let me be of the beasts, by whose means I am enabled to obtain God. I am God's wheat, and by the teeth of the beasts am I ground, that I may be found God's pure bread. Rather entreat kindly the beasts that they may be a grave for me, and may leave nothing of my body; that not even when I am fallen asleep, I may be a burden upon any man. Then I shall be in truth a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world seeth not even my body. Supplicate our Lord for me, that by these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I am not commanding you like Peter and Paul: they were apostles, I am a condemned convict; they were free, I am hitherto a slave. But if I suffer, I am a freed man of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise from the dead, in him, a free man.

3. And now, since I am in bonds, I learn to desire nothing. From Syria to Rome I am cast among beasts, by sea and by land, by night and by day; since I am bound between ten leopards, who get worse when I do good to them. But by their ill treatment I am furthered in my apprenticeship: still by that I am not justified. May I have to rejoice of the beasts prepared for me! and I pray that they may be found ready for me, and I will kindly entreat them quickly to devour me, and not,

as they have done to some, being afraid of them, to keep from touching me. And should they not be willing, I will force them.

4. Pardon me : what is expedient for me, I know myself. Let nothing envy me, neither things visible nor invisible, that I may attain Jesus Christ. Fire and the cross, scattering of the bones and the array of the beasts, the mutilation of the limbs and the grinding of the whole body—hard torments of the devil!—let them come upon me, if only I may attain Jesus Christ. The pains of child-birth await me : my love is crucified, and there is no fire in me to love matter. I do not desire the food of corruption, nor the desires of this world. The bread of God I seek, which is the body of Christ ; and as drink I seek his blood, which is love incorruptible.

5. My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the churches which have received me as for the name of Jesus Christ. For also those who are not bodily near to the road accompanied me in every city. And now that I am near to Rome, I meditate many things in God ; but I moderate myself, that I may not perish through boasting ; for now it is becoming in me that I should fear the more abundantly, and should not look to those that puff me up. For those who say to me “Martyr,” scourge me : it is true that I desire to suffer, but I do not know if I be worthy. For my zeal is not apparent to many, but it wars within me. I want, therefore, meekness ; because by that the prince of this world is made powerless. I am able to write to you heavenly things ; but I fear lest I should do you harm (pardon me), that, not being able to take it in, you might be choked. For even I, for being in bonds and able to know heavenly things, and the places of angels and the station of powers and the things visible and invisible, am for all that not a dis-



ciple: for I lack much of being perfected for God. Farewell to the end, in the patience of Jesus Christ.

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## POLYCARP OF SMYRNA.

IF Clement attracts us by a certain vague grandeur of his person, if Ignatius invites our attention by the sharp outlines of his ecclesiastical teachings, Polycarp of Smyrna compels our regard by the unique importance of his position. For his life spans with one grand arch the entire chasm of historic uncertainty which appears in our accounts of the early church. One firm abutment rests upon the Apostle John, the other, as secure, rests upon the well-known Irenæus; and over this solid structure is borne down in security the stream of apostolic traditions. In vain did the turbid waters of the second-century heresies seek to pollute the stream; in vain do modern scholars contend that the stream which reached Irenæus was one of mingled waters, flowing from diverse fountains. Irenæus himself says, Nay, it was one stream, flowing from one source over this single life.

Irenæus, having been the pupil of Polycarp, gives testimony of him which is entirely trustworthy. In a letter to an early companion he says: "For I remember the occurrences of those days better than the more recent; so that I can tell even the spot in which the blessed Polycarp sat and conversed, and his outgoings and incomings, and the character of his life, and the form of his body, and the con-

versations which he held with the multitude; and how he related his familiar intercourse with John and the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he rehearsed their sayings, and what things they were which he had heard from them with regard to the Lord and his miracles and teaching. All these things Polycarp related in harmony with the writings, as having received them from the eyewitnesses of the Word of life. These things then I was in the habit of eagerly hearing through the mercy given me by God, storing them up, not on paper, but in my heart." Again he says: "And Polycarp, who was not only instructed by apostles, and had intercourse with many who had seen Christ, but was also appointed for Asia by apostles, in the church that is in Smyrna, an overseer, whom also we have seen in the beginning of our life, for he remained a long time and at an exceeding old age, having borne his testimony gloriously and most notably, departed this life, always taught these things, which also he gave to the church, and which alone are true." He further gives account of Polycarp's earnest opposition to the heretic Marcion; also of his visit to Rome in the time of Anicetus, and the friendly variance of Polycarp and Anicetus with respect to the observance of Easter.

In regard to the writings of his early teacher Irenæus speaks explicitly. Alluding to certain doctrines, he says: "This also can be proved from his letters which he (Polycarp) sent either to the neighboring churches, confirming them, or to some of the brethren, warning them and urging them on." Again: "There is also a letter of Polycarp's written

to the Philippians, of a most satisfactory nature, from which also those who are willing and have a care about their salvation can learn the character of his faith, and the proclamation of the truth."

How few characters of antiquity, whether secular or ecclesiastical, have such testimony from an actual pupil to their person and works! Surely, when we talk of Polycarp, we may feel ourselves to be upon historic ground. This apart from the testimony given in the "Martyrium of Polycarp," a document purporting to be a letter from the church at Smyrna to a neighboring church, giving an account of the martyrdom of their bishop. This is the most ancient of all the *Martyria*, and has commonly been regarded as a genuine work of the Smyrnean Church. It was so regarded by Eusebius, who embodied most of it in his history. The account is a detailed one of how, in a time of persecution, Polycarp was persuaded to leave the city, but, being betrayed by a servant, was brought back and put to death in the stadium, after having nobly confessed Christ. Various incidents of this story have been subjected to such adverse criticism that we may not safely press its accuracy in details; yet both external and internal evidence lead to the opinion that in outline (even if largely interpolated) it is true. Certain chronological notes appended to this "Martyrium" by a later writer, though still a very early one, declare the martyrdom to have occurred in the spring-time of the proconsulship of Statius Quadratus. This is shown by the most recent investigations to have been in the year 155. This date, allowing him to have died at the age of

eighty-six years, as given in the "Martyrium," would fix his birth in A. D. 69. Assigning the death of John to the very earliest conjectured date, Polycarp must still have been of an age sufficient to comprehend and hand down in their purity the teachings of John and the other apostles. These teachings, he told Irenæus, were "in harmony with the writings"; by which Irenæus, who had substantially our canon, meant the Scriptures which we read to-day.

The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians is, as we have seen, most satisfactorily attested, though certain chapters are known only in a Latin version. Its integrity has been questioned, the genuineness of chapter thirteen being denied; but such scholars as Zahn (whose text has here been followed) and Lightfoot claim that the whole epistle is the work of Polycarp. Granting its integrity, its date can not be much later than A. D. 116, the time of Ignatius's death. No other remains of Polycarp's writings have come down to us.

#### THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

Polycarp and the presbyters that are with him to the church of God which is at Philippi: Mercy unto you, and peace from God Almighty, and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, be multiplied.

1. I rejoiced greatly with you, in our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye received the patterns of true love, and accompanied, as it behooved you, those who were bound with chains, the fitting ornament of saints, the crowns of those who are truly chosen of God and our Lord; and that the firm root of your faith, which was preached from ancient times, re-

mains until now, and brings forth fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered himself to be brought even to death for our sins: *whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of death: in whom, not seeing, ye believe, with joy unspeakable and full of glory.* Into which joy many desire to enter, knowing that *by grace ye are saved, not of works, but by the will of God, through Jesus Christ.*

2. *Wherefore, girding up your loins, serve God in fear and truth, laying aside all empty and vain speech, and the error of many, believing in him that raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave him glory, and a throne at his right hand; to whom all things in heaven and earth are subject; whom every living creature worships; who comes to be the judge of the quick and the dead; whose blood God shall require of them that believe not in him. But he that raised him up from the dead shall raise up us also, if we do his will, and walk in his commandments, and love the things which he loved; abstaining from all unrighteousness, inordinate affection, love of money, evil speaking, false witness; not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, or blow for blow, or curse for curse; but remembering what the Lord taught us, saying, Judge not, that ye be not judged; forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you; be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy: for with the measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again; and that Blessed are the poor, and they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of God.*

3. I have not assumed to myself, brethren, the liberty of writing to you those things concerning righteousness; but ye yourselves before encouraged me. For neither can I, nor any other such as I am, come up to the wisdom of the blessed and renowned Paul, who, being among you, in the presence of those who then lived, taught with exactness and

soundness the word of truth; who in his absence also wrote an epistle to you, into which if ye diligently look, ye may be able to be edified in the faith delivered unto you, *which is the mother of us all*, being followed with hope and led on by love, both toward God and Christ, and toward our neighbor. For if any one hath these things within himself, he hath fulfilled the law of righteousness; for he that hath charity is far from all sin.

4. But *the love of money is the beginning of all evils*. Knowing, therefore, that *we brought nothing into the world, neither are we able to carry anything out*, let us arm ourselves with the armor of righteousness, and teach ourselves first to walk in the commandment of the Lord: then also [teach] your wives [to walk] in the faith and love and purity which is given unto them, loving their own husbands in all truth, and kindly affectionate to all others equally in all temperance, and to bring up their children in the instruction and fear of God: [teach] that the widows be sober as to what concerns the faith of the Lord, praying without ceasing for all men, being far from all detraction, evil-speaking, false witness, love of money, and all evil; knowing that they are the altar of God, and that he sees all blemishes, and nothing is hid from him, either of words or thoughts, nor any of the secret things of the heart.

5. Knowing, therefore, that *God is not mocked*, we ought to walk worthy both of his command and of his glory. In like manner the deacons must be blameless in the sight of his righteousness, as the ministers of God and Christ, and not of men: not false accusers, not double-tongued, not lovers of money, temperate in all things, compassionate, careful, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who became the servant of all; whom if we please in this present world, we shall be made partakers

also of that which is to come, according as he hath promised to us that he will raise us from the dead : and that if we shall walk worthy of him, we shall also reign together with him, if we believe. In like manner the young men must be blameless in all things, above all taking care of their purity, and restraining themselves from all evil. For it is good to emerge out of the lusts which are in the world : for every *lust warreth against the spirit* ; and *neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind shall inherit the kingdom of God*, neither they which act foolishly. Wherefore, it is necessary that ye abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ. The virgins also should walk in a spotless and pure conscience.

6. Let the elders also be compassionate, merciful to all, bringing back such as are in error, seeking out all those that are weak, not neglecting the widow or the fatherless, or the poor ; but *providing always what is good in the sight of God and men* : abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unrighteous judgment ; being far from all covetousness ; not ready to believe anything against any ; not severe in judgment, knowing that we are all debtors in point of sin. If therefore we pray to the Lord that he would forgive us, we ought also to forgive. For we are before the eyes of our Lord and God, and *must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, and must every one give an account of himself*. Let us therefore so serve him, with fear and all reverence, as he himself hath commanded, and as the apostles who have preached the gospel unto us, and the prophets who have foretold the coming of our Lord [have taught us] : being zealous of what is good, abstaining from all offense, and from false brethren, and from those who bear the name of Christ in hypocrisy, who deceive vain men.

7. *For whosoever confesses not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is antichrist; and whosoever confesses not the suffering of the cross is of the devil; and whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says there is neither resurrection nor judgment, he is the first-born of Satan. Wherefore, leaving the vanity of many, and the false doctrines, let us return to the word which was delivered to us from the beginning, watching unto prayer, and persevering in fasting; with supplication beseeching the all-seeing God not to lead us into temptation, as the Lord hath said, The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.*

8. Let us therefore without ceasing hold steadfastly to him who is our hope, and the earnest of our righteousness, even Jesus Christ, *who bore our sins in his own body on the tree; who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; but endured all for our sakes, that we might live through him. Let us therefore imitate his patience; and if we suffer for his name, let us glorify him. For this example he hath given us by himself, and so we have believed.*

9. I exhort you all therefore to obey the word of righteousness, and exercise all patience, which ye have seen set forth before your eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others among yourselves, and in Paul himself, and the other apostles; being confident of this, that all these have *not run in vain*, but in faith and righteousness; and that they are gone to the place which was due to them, in the presence of the Lord, with whom also they suffered. For they loved not this present world, but him that died for us, and was raised again by God for our sake.

[\* 10. Stand therefore in these things, and follow the example of the Lord, being firm and immutable

\* From the Latin version.



in the faith, lovers of the brotherhood, lovers of one another, companions together in the truth, exhibiting toward each other the *sweet reasonableness* of the Lord, despising none. When it is in your power to do good, defer it not; *for charity delivereth from death*. Be all of you subject one to another, *having your conversation honest among the gentiles, that by your good works both ye yourselves may receive praise, and the Lord may not be blasphemed through you. But woe to him by whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed*. Wherefore teach all men sobriety, in which do ye also exercise yourselves.

11. I am greatly afflicted for Valens, who was once made a presbyter among you; that he should so little understand the place that was given unto him. Wherefore I admonish you that ye abstain from cupidity, and that ye be chaste and true of speech. Keep yourselves from all evil. For he that in these things can not govern himself, how shall he be able to prescribe them to another? If a man doth not keep himself from concupiscence, he shall be polluted with idolatry, and he shall be judged as if of the gentiles, who are ignorant of the judgment of the Lord. *Do we not know that the saints shall judge the world?* as Paul teaches. But I have neither perceived nor heard anything of the kind in you, among whom the blessed Paul labored, and who are [named] in the beginning of his epistle. For he glories of you in all the churches which alone had then known God; for we [in Smyrna] had not yet known him. Wherefore, brethren, I am exceedingly sorry both for him (Valens) and for his wife: to whom may the Lord grant true repentance. And be ye then moderate on this occasion; and *consider not such as enemies*, but call them back, as suffering and erring members, that ye may save your whole body. For by so doing ye edify yourselves.

12. For I trust that ye are well exercised in the Holy Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you : but to me it is not granted [to edify you]. Only, as it is written in the Scriptures, *Be ye angry and sin not*, and *Let not the sun go down upon your wrath*. Blessed is he that remembereth, which I trust to be true of you. Now the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he himself who is our everlasting High Priest, the Son of God, even Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness and lenity, and in patience and long-suffering, and forbearance and chastity : and grant unto you a lot and portion among his saints, and unto us with you, and unto all that are under heaven, who shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his Father who raised him from the dead. Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings, and authorities, and princes, and for those who persecute you and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross ; that your fruit may be manifest in all, and that ye may be perfect in Him.]

13. Both ye and Ignatius wrote to me, that if any one went [hence] into Syria, he should carry with him what was written by you ; which I will attend to, if I have a convenient opportunity, either by myself, or by him whom I shall send acting for me and upon your account. The epistles of Ignatius which he wrote unto us, and others as many as we have with us, we have sent to you, according to your order ; which are subjoined to this epistle : from which ye may be greatly profited. For they treat of faith and patience, and of all things which pertain to edification in our Lord.

[\* What ye know more certainly of Ignatius, and those that are with him, signify unto us.

14. These things have I written unto you by Crescens, whom up to this day I have recommended to you, and do now recommend. For he hath had

\* From the Latin version.

his conversation without blame among us, and I trust in like manner also with you. You will also have regard unto his sister when she shall come unto you. Be ye safe in the Lord Jesus Christ: and his grace be with you all. Amen.]

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## BARNABAS.

THAT there existed very early in the history of the church a letter written by one Barnabas, and that that letter has come down to us, there can be little doubt. Who Barnabas was, however, we do not know. The early writers, beginning with Clement of Alexandria, identify him with Barnabas the companion of Paul; but that supposition is disproved by the epistle itself. Barnabas the Cyprian was a Levite, and was of course familiar with the Jewish rites—probably practiced some of them to the end of his life; he must also, from his presence at the apostolic council at Jerusalem, in which that subject was discussed, have known perfectly the opinions of the twelve as to the relation of Judaism to Christianity. But the epistle was written by one who not simply distorts, but makes gross errors concerning, common Jewish observances; and by one who, instead of regarding Judaism as the legitimate predecessor of Christianity—the Law a school-master to lead to Christ—as did the apostles, represents the Jews as entirely wrong in ever having observed the ceremonial law. This of itself would disprove the early tradition; but it may be added that

the epistle declares all Syrians to have been circumcised, a mistake which could not have been made by one who had resided long at Antioch; that it was written subsequent to A. D. 70, whereas Barnabas the Cyprian is thought to have died before A. D. 62; and that it betrays a style of reckless allegorizing utterly foreign to one who had consorted with the apostles, not to say with our Lord himself. There is little satisfaction in thus showing who was not the author, but this is almost the only certain thing we can say. It is supposed by most critics, however, that it was written by a Gentile Christian who was either a resident of Alexandria or lived within Alexandrian influence. Evidence of this is seen in the allegorizing tone of the epistle, and in the importance it attaches to *knowledge* (γνῶσις) as contrasted with *faith* (πίστις), which features were characteristics of that school of thought. The readers for whom it was intended are conjectured to have been Alexandrian Christians, who were in danger of being drawn away into Jewish practices; though Origen calls it a catholic epistle, that is intended for general circulation. Its date is uncertain. It can not have been earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem. It would seem also to have been quoted by Celsus—the passage calling the apostles *sinners above all sin*—about the middle of the second century. Between these dates we have but slight indications of a definite time, though what we have point to the first quarter of the century, from A. D. 119 to 126.

The epistle is in two parts, chaps. 1–17 and 18–21, which are somewhat dissimilar in style; but both parts are quoted by Clement, and there is no

sufficient reason to question its integrity. The whole epistle is found in Greek, in one of the most ancient extant manuscripts, the *Codex Sinaiticus*, (cir. A. D. 350), in which it follows the canonical books. The semi-canonical character thus indicated was accorded to the letter by both Clement and Origen. The latest critical text is that of Gebhardt, by which the translation here used has been amended. The italicized words are supplied. Quotations have their appropriate marks. Attention is called to but a single passage at the close of chapter iv.: "As it is written, 'many called but few chosen.'"

## THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

1. Joy be with you, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us in peace. Seeing that God's just requirements are great and abounding to you ward, I rejoice exceedingly and beyond measure in your blessed and glorious spirits; in such manner have ye received the engrafted grace of the free gift of the Spirit. Wherefore also I the more rejoice in mine own *heart*, hoping to be saved, because that I truly perceive within you the spirit of the Lord's love poured forth from his riches upon you. With so great *joy* concerning you hath the desired sight of you moved me. Being persuaded therefore of this, and convinced in my own *mind*—for having spoken many things among you, I know that the Lord hath been my companion in the way of righteousness, and am utterly constrained also myself to this, namely, to love you above my own soul, for great faith and love dwell within you in hope of his life—accounting this therefore, that if I am at pains concerning you to impart some

portion of that whereof I have received, that to minister to such spirits will be to me *not without* reward, I made haste shortly to send unto you, that ye might have your knowledge (*γνώσεις*) perfected with your faith (*πίστις*). There are then three revelations of the Lord: our hope of life, its beginning, its end; and the beginning of faith is righteousness, and the end *thereof* love, the work of gladness and exultation in witness of righteousness. For the master hath revealed to us by the prophets that which is past and that which is at hand, and hath given us also the first fruits of the taste of that which shall be. Of which things we behold the gradual accomplishment, according as he hath said, and ought with the more abundance and uplifting of heart to draw near to his altar. I then, not as a teacher but as one of your own selves, will show forth a few things, by the which in the present *time of trial* ye shall be made glad.

2. [The Jewish sacrifices are now abolished under the new law of Jesus Christ.]

3. [Showing that the fasts observed by the Jews are not true fasts acceptable to God.]

4. [The final offense concerning which it is written is at hand. We must not err by] saying that the covenant belongs to them (the Jews) and us *also*. To us *it belongeth*; but they lost it thus utterly, though Moses once received it. [We must avoid iniquity, lest we be judged as Israel has been.] Let us take heed lest so be that we be found, as it is written, "many called but few chosen."

5. For to this end the Lord endured to deliver up his flesh to destruction, that we might be cleansed by the remission of sins, which is in the blood of his sprinkling . . . . Is. liii. 5-7 . . . . [Christ] that he might abolish death and show forth the resurrection from the dead, since it behooved him to be manifested in the flesh, endured *suffering* that

he might restore the promise to the fathers, and might himself prepare his new people for himself, and by being upon the earth show forth that when he hath himself accomplished the resurrection he will judge *mankind* . . . . And when he chose out his own apostles who should preach his gospel, who, that he might show that "He came not to call the righteous but sinners," were transgressors above all sin, then did he manifest himself to be the Son of God . . . . [He came also to bring to a head the sins of the Jews.]

6. [Various prophecies, e. g., that of the stone rejected by the builders, explained by gnosis.]

7. [Fasting, and the goat sent away, shown to be types of Christ. The chapter closes with these words:] Thus, he (Jesus) saith, they who would see me, and lay hold of my kingdom, must through tribulation and suffering obtain me.

8. But what type think ye it is, that it hath been commanded to Israel, that those men in whom sins are at the full should offer a heifer, and slay and burn it, and that children should take up the ash, and cast it into vessels, and bind the scarlet wool upon wood (behold again the type of the cross and the scarlet wool) and hyssop *therewith*, and that after this manner the children should sprinkle the people one by one, that they may be purified from their sins? Consider how in *all* simplicity it is said unto you, The calf is Jesus; the men who make offering, *being* sinners, *are they* who offered him for the slaughter. [But now the men are no longer *guilty*, are no longer regarded as sinners.]\* But the boys who sprinkle are they who preached unto us the gospel of the remission of sins and the purification of the heart, unto whom, being twelve *in number* for a witness of the tribes—for there are twelve tribes in Israel—he gave authority over the

\* Doubtful text.

gospel, that they should preach it. But wherefore are the boys that sprinkle three *in number*? For a testimony unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, because these are mighty before God. And why the wool upon the wood? Because the kingdom of Jesus is *established* upon wood, and they that hope upon him shall live for ever. But wherefore the wool withal and the hyssop? Because in his kingdom there shall be days evil and polluted, in the which we shall be saved. For he that is sick in the flesh is healed by the pollution of the hyssop. And therefore are the things which were so done clear unto us, but unto them dark, because they have not heard the voice of the Lord.

9. Furthermore, he saith concerning the ears, how that our circumcision is of the heart. The Lord saith in the prophet, "To the hearing of the ear they did obey me." And again he saith, "With hearing shall they that are afar off hear, they shall know what things I have done." And "Be ye circumcised," saith the Lord, "in your hearts." And again he saith, "Hear, O Israel, that the Lord thy God saith these things." And again the Spirit of the Lord prophesieth, "Who is he that will live for ever? With hearing let him hear the voice of my Son." And again he saith, "Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken these things for a testimony." And again he saith, "Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of this people." And again he saith, "Hear, ye children, the voice of one crying in the wilderness." So then he circumcised our hearings, that we might hear the word and believe. For the circumcision on which they have trusted hath been done away; for he hath declared that circumcision was made not of the flesh. But they went out of the way, for an evil angel beguiled them. He saith unto them, "These things saith the Lord your God (so do I find the



commandment), Sow not upon thorns, be ye circumcised unto your Lord." And why saith he, "Be ye circumcised in the hardness of your hearts, and ye shall not be stiffnecked"? Take again, "Behold, saith the Lord, all the nations are uncircumcised with uncircumcision *of the flesh*, but this people is uncircumcised in their hearts." But thou wilt say, Yea, verily, the people hath been circumcised for a seal; but likewise is every Syrian and Arabian, and all the priests of idols: think ye they too are of their covenant? Moreover, the Egyptians also are in circumcision. Understand then, children of love, concerning all things richly, that Abraham, who first gave circumcision, circumcised looking forward in the spirit unto Jesus, having received the ordinances of three letters. For he saith, "And Abraham circumcised of his household eighteen males and three hundred." What then was the knowledge that was given unto him? Understand ye that he saith the eighteen first, and then, after an interval, three hundred. In the eighteen, I H, thou hast Jesus. And inasmuch as the cross was destined to show forth grace in the *sign* T, he adds three hundred. So then he showeth forth Jesus in the two letters, and in the single one the cross. He knoweth it who hath put within us the engrafted word of his doctrine; no man hath learned of me a truer instruction, but I know that ye are worthy.

10. [Spiritual significance of Moses's commands respecting various kinds of foods.]

11. Let us inquire whether it pleased the Lord to show beforehand of the water [of baptism] and of the cross. [Such references discerned in Jer. ii. 12, 13; Isa. xvi. 1, 2, xlv. 2, 3, xxxiii. 16-18; Ps. i. 3-6; Zeph. iii. 19; Ezek. xlvi. 12.]

12. Likewise again he giveth intimation concerning the cross in another prophet, saying: "And

when shall these things be accomplished? saith the Lord. When a tree is bent down and rises again, and when blood shall drop out of wood." Again thou hast *a testimony* of the cross and of Him that should be crucified. And he speaketh again in Moses, when the strange nations made war upon Israel; and that he might call to their remembrance in *the midst* of war that for their sins they were delivered unto death, the Spirit speaketh in the heart of Moses that he should make a type of the cross and of Him that should suffer, *showing*, saith he, that except they hope upon him they shall be at war for ever. So Moses put one shield upon another in the midst of the battle, and he stood above them all and stretched forth his hands; and so Israel again prevailed; then, as soon as he let down his hands, they were again smitten to death. To what end? that they might know that they can not be saved except they hope upon him. And again in another prophet he saith, "The whole day long have I spread out my hands to a people disobedient and gainsaying my righteous way." Again Moses setteth forth a type of Jesus, that he must suffer and that he shall make alive whom they shall think to have slain, by the sign of a pole when Israel was falling. For the Lord made all manner of serpents to bite them, and they died (for through the serpent was transgression found in Eve), that he might convince them, that for their transgression's sake they should be delivered unto the affliction of death. Yea, furthermore, though Moses himself gave commandment, "Ye shall have no molten nor graven image for your god," yet he himself made *it* that he might show forth a type of Jesus. Moses therefore made a serpent of brass, and put it up conspicuously, and called the people *together* by a proclamation. When they were come together therefore to the same *place*, they entreated Moses, that he should

offer for their being made whole. But Moses spake unto them and said: When any man of you is bitten, let him come to the serpent that is set upon the wood, and let him hope *thereon*, believing that it is able even though dead to restore to life, and immediately he shall be saved. And they did so. In these things too thou findest again the glory of Jesus, that in him and unto him are all things. Again what saith Moses to Jesus (Joshua), the son of Nave, to whom he gave this name as being a prophet, that all the people might give ear *to him* only, because *in him* the Father makes all things manifest concerning his son Jesus? Moses then saith unto Jesus, son of Nave, when he gave him this name and sent him forth to spy out the land, "Take a book into thy hands, and write what the Lord saith, that the Son of God shall cut off by the roots all the house of Amalek at the last days." Behold again Jesus, not a son of man, but Son of God, by type manifested in the flesh. Now since *some* will say that Christ is David's son, David himself prophesieth, fearing and understanding the error of sinful men: "The Lord saith unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footstool." And again Esaias likewise saith, "The Lord said unto Christ my Lord, whose right hand I have holden, that nations should give ear before him, and the strength of kings will I break in pieces." Behold how David calleth him Lord, and Son of God.

13. [Christians and not Jews are heirs of the covenant, as prefigured in the preference of Jacob to Esau and Ephraim to Manasseh; and proved in the promise that Abraham should be the father of uncircumcised nations.]

14. Yea, verily, but let us inquire of the covenant which he swore to the fathers to give to the people, whether he hath given it. He hath given

it; but they were not found worthy to receive it because of their sins. [How Moses received the tables written with the finger of God, but cast them down; and we received the covenant from the Lord himself who was manifested for this end. See Isa. xlii. 6, 7, xlix. 6, lxi. 1, 2.]

15. Further it hath been written concerning the sabbath also in the Ten Words, wherein *the Lord* spake to Moses on Mount Sinai face to face, "And keep ye the sabbath of the Lord holy with pure hands and a pure heart." And in another *place* he saith, "If my sons observe my sabbath, then will I cause my mercy to rest upon them." He speaks of the sabbath at the beginning of the creation: "And God made the works of his hands in six days, and made an end on the seventh day, and rested on it and sanctified it." Give heed, *my* children, why he saith thus, "He made an end in six days." This he saith, signifying that in six thousand years the Lord will make an end of all things; for one day is with him a thousand years. And he himself beareth me witness, saying, "Behold, to-day shall be as a thousand years." Therefore, *my* children, in six days, *that is to say* in six thousand years, shall an end be made of all things. "And he rested on the seventh day." This signifieth, *that* when his son shall come and utterly destroy this *present* time, and shall judge the ungodly, and change the sun, and the moon, and the stars, then he shall truly rest on the seventh day. Yea, and he saith furthermore, "Thou shalt keep it holy with pure hands and a pure heart." If, then, a man is now able to keep holy the day which God hath made holy, without being pure in heart, we have gone utterly astray. Behold then he doth *not* truly rest and keep it holy *until* that day when we shall ourselves be able so to do, having been justified and having received the promise, where

ungodliness is no more, but all things are made new by the Lord; then shall we be able to keep it holy, having been ourselves first made holy. Furthermore he saith unto them, "Your new moons and sabbaths I can not away with." Look ye how he saith, "Your present sabbaths *are* not acceptable unto me, but *the sabbath* which I have made, in the which, when I have finished all things, I will make the beginning of the eighth day, which is the beginning of the new world." Wherefore also we keep the eighth day unto gladness, in the which Jesus also rose from the dead, and, after that he had been manifested, ascended into the heavens.

16. [Concerning the true spiritual temple of God, that it is not a house made with hands, but the purified heart of the believer. The chapter contains these words:] Ye perceive that their (the Jews') hope is vain. Moreover, he again says, "Behold, they who have cast down this temple, even they shall build it up again." It has so happened. For through their going to war, it was destroyed by their enemies; and now they, as the servants of their enemies, shall rebuild it.

17. [All things in the present are thus explained. Should the author write about future things, the readers would not understand.]

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18. But let us pass also to another *form of* knowledge and doctrine. There are two ways of doctrine and authority, the *way* of light and the *way* of darkness. And between these two ways there is a wide difference. For over the one are stationed light-bearing angels of God, but over the other angels of Satan. And *God* is the Lord from everlasting to everlasting, but *Satan* the prince of the time which now is of unrighteousness.

19. This then is the way of light, if a man desire to walk in the way toward the appointed place, and is zealous in his works. The knowledge then that hath been given us *whereby we may* walk therein is on this wise. [The principal virtues enumerated are to love God; to be simple in heart; to hate hypocrisy; to be lowly-minded; to be pure in heart and life; not to speak God's word amidst the unclean; not to respect persons; to be meek and peaceable; not to bear malice; not to take the Lord's name in vain; to love one's neighbor; not to commit murder by abortion; to train children in the fear of the Lord; not to be covetous; to bow before the visitations of God; to be obedient servants and kind masters; to be liberal; to love all who minister the word of the Lord; to remember the day of judgment; to seek daily the presence of saints; to labor to save souls; to hate the wicked; to judge justly; to make confession of sins; not to pray with an evil conscience.]

20. But the way of blackness is crooked and full of cursing. For it is a way of eternal death with punishment, wherein are those things which destroy men's souls—idolatry, insolence, haughtiness of power, hypocrisy, doubleness of heart, adultery, murder, extortion, pride, transgression, guile, malice, self-will, sorcery, witchcraft, covetousness, no fear of *God*. Persecutors *are they* of the good, hating truth, loving lies, knowing not the reward of righteousness, cleaving not to good, *cleaving* not to just judgment, heeding not the widow and orphan, watching not unto the fear of God but to evil, from whom meekness and patience *stand* afar off, loving vain things, pursuing after recompense, having no compassion on the poor, laboring not for him that is spent with labor, prone to evil speaking, knowing not Him that made them, slayers of children, defilers of God's workmanship, turning away

from him that is in need and oppressing him that is afflicted, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the poor, filled with all manner of sin.

21. [Conclusion, in which exhortation is given to all obedience.] . . . For the day is at hand on which all things shall perish with the Evil One. The Lord is at hand and his reward. . . . Farewell, ye children of love and peace. The Lord of glory and of all grace be with your spirit, Amen.

# AUTHORS OFTEN CLASSED

WITH

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

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### HERMAS.

THE "Pilgrim's Progress of the Early Church" is the appropriate name given to the "Shepherd of Hermas." Who Hermas was—whether indeed there was a real character of that name who wrote the book, or whether, like *Christian*, it was a fictitious name—we do not certainly know. The earliest mention of the work is found in the Muratorian fragment on the canon, which says: "Hermas composed the Shepherd very lately in our times in the city of Rome, while the Bishop Pius, his brother, occupied the chair of the Roman Church; and it ought therefore indeed to be read, but it can never be publicly used in the church, either among the prophets [the number being complete], or the Apostles." A Latin poem ascribed to Pius gives a similar account. Irenæus quotes from the work with marked respect, and Clement of Alexandria refers to Hermas; but neither of them helps us to identify the author. Origen conjectures that he was the Hermas of Rom. xvi. 14—a guess doubtless



prompted by the desire to give apostolic sanction to the book. For the "Shepherd" very soon came to be regarded as inspired, and as such was highly esteemed by most of the churches, though Tertullian speaks slightly of it. In the absence of counter-evidence its authorship by Hermas, brother of Pius, may not unreasonably be accepted. This gives it a date from A. D. 130 to 140. The work is an allegory, now divided (though not by the manuscripts) into three parts—Visions, Commands, and Similitudes. Our text gives a large part of the book of visions, and sufficient from the other books to indicate their character. "The book," says Donaldson, "ought to derive a peculiar interest from its being the first work extant, the main effort of which is to direct the soul to God. The other religious books relate to internal workings in the church; this alone specially deals with the great change requisite to living to God. . . . Its creed is a very short and simple one. Its great object is to exhibit the morality implied in conversion."

The Sinaitic manuscript has given us an almost entire Greek text. There are, besides, Latin manuscripts not varying in substance from the Greek. The text here followed is the Greek as edited by Hilgenfeld.

#### THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

[As now commonly edited, the "Shepherd" is divided into three books: I. Visions; II. Commandments; III. Similitudes.

*Book One* begins with Hermas's account of his

admiration for a beautiful lady, as he had rescued her from the river Tiber at Rome. Afterward, being alone in the country, praying, the spirit of this lady appears and reproaches him with an unhallowed regard for her, at which he is sadly grieved.

*Vision First.*—After the lady has disappeared, Hermas has a vision of an old woman clad in a splendid robe, and sitting in a great chair of wool, who charges him to admonish his household of their sins. She then reads to him from a book some very terrible words, closing, however, with words of gentleness. Rising up, her chair is borne away to the east by four young men, and she tells Hermas that the harsh words are for heathens and apostates, the mild ones for the righteous; after which two men bear her away to the east on their shoulders.

*Vision Second.*—Again, a year later, the same old woman appears to him and gives him a book to transcribe, which when he does, the book is snatched away by unseen hands. Soon after, the writing, at first unintelligible, becomes plain to him. It is a message relating principally to the faults of his wife and sons, but assuring him that he himself shall be saved on account of his simplicity and his great self-control, which traits shall save all who are characterized by them; it also contains a warning to one Maximus. Again, a revelation was made to Hermas while he slept, by a young man who explained that the old woman was the Church. Later this woman comes and directs him to prepare two copies of the book he had transcribed: one for Clement, who would send it to foreign countries; one for Grapte, who would admonish the widows and orphans. He himself was to “read the words in the city, along with the presbyters who preside over the church.” Then follows vision third, which is here given entire.]

## VISION THIRD.

1. The vision which I saw, my brethren, was of the following nature: Having fasted frequently, and having prayed to the Lord that he would show me the revelation which he promised to show me through that old woman, the same night the old woman appeared to me, and said to me, "Since you are so anxious and eager to know all things, go into the part of the country where you tarry; and about the fifth hour I shall appear unto you, and show you all that you ought to see." I asked her, saying, "Lady, into what part of the country?" "Wherever you will," said she. I chose a spot suitably retired. Before, however, I began to speak and to mention the place, she said to me, "I will come where you wish." Accordingly, brethren, I went to the country, and counted the hours, and reached the place where I had promised to meet her; and I see an ivory seat ready placed, and on the seat a linen cushion, and spread out above the linen a covering of fine linen. Seeing these laid out, and yet no one in the place, I began to feel awe, and as it were a trembling seized hold of me, and my hair stood on end, and a horror as it were came upon me, I being alone. But on coming back to myself and calling to mind the glory of God, I took courage, bent my knees, and again confessed my sins to God as I had done before. Whereupon the old woman approached, accompanied by six young men whom I had also seen before; and she stood behind me, and listened to me as I prayed and confessed my sins to the Lord. And touching me, she said, "Hermas, cease praying continually for your sins; pray for righteousness, that you may have a portion of it immediately

in your house." On this she took me by the hand, and brought me to the seat, and said to the young men, "Go and build." When the young men had gone and we were alone, she said to me, "Sit here." I say to her, "Lady, permit my elders to be seated first." "Do what I bid you," said she; "sit down." When I would have sat down on her right, she did not permit me, but with her hand beckoned to me to sit down on the left. While I was thinking about this, and feeling vexed that she did not let me sit on the right, she said, "Are you vexed, Hermas? The place to the right is for others who have already pleased God, and have suffered for his name's sake; and you have yet much to accomplish before you can sit with them. But abide as you now do in your simplicity, and you will sit with them, and with all who do their deeds and bear what they have borne."

2. "What have they borne?" said I. "Listen," said she; "scourges, prisons, great tribulations, crosses, wild beasts, for God's name's sake. On this account the right hand of the holy place is theirs, and every one's who shall suffer for God's name: the left hand is to the rest. But both for those who sit on the right and those who sit on the left there are the same gifts and promises; only those sit on the right and have some glory. You, then, are eager to sit on the right with them, but your shortcomings are many. But you will be cleansed from your shortcomings; and all who are not given to doubts shall be cleansed from all their iniquities up till this day." Saying this, she wished to go away. But, falling down at her feet, I begged her by the Lord that she would show me the vision which she had promised to show me. And then she again took hold of me by the hand, and raised me, and made me to sit on the seat to the left, and she sat down upon the right; and, lifting up a

splendid rod, she said to me, "Do you see something great?" And I say, "Lady, I see nothing." She said to me, "Lo! do you not see opposite to you a great tower, built upon the waters, of splendid square stones?" For the tower was built square by those six young men who had come with her. But myriads of men were carrying stones to it, some dragging them from the depths, others removing them from the land, and they handed them to these six young men. They were taking them and building; and those of the stones that were dragged out of the depths they placed in the building just as they were: for they were polished and fitted exactly into the other stones, and they became so united one with another that the lines of juncture could not be perceived. And in this way the building of the tower looked as if it were made out of one stone. Of those stones, however, which were taken from the dry land they rejected some, some they fitted into the building, and some they cut down and cast far away from the tower. Many other stones, however, lay around the tower, and the young men did not use them in building; for some of them were rough, others had cracks in them, others had been made too short, and others were white and round, but did not fit into the building of the tower. Moreover, I saw other stones thrown far away from the tower, and falling into the public road, yet not remaining on the road, but rolling into a pathless place; and others falling into the fire and burning; others also falling close to the water, and yet not capable of being rolled into the water, though they wished to be rolled down, and to enter the water.

3. On showing me these visions she wished to retire. I said to her, "Lady, what is the use of my having seen all this while I do not know what it means?" She said to me, "You cunning man,

wishing to know everything that relates to the tower." "Even so, O Lady," said I, "that I may tell it to my brethren, that, hearing this, they may know the Lord in much glory." And she said, "Many indeed shall hear, and hearing, some shall be glad and some shall weep. But even these, if they hear and repent, shall also rejoice. Hear, then, the parables of the tower; for I will reveal all to you. And give me no more trouble in regard to revelation, for these revelations have an end, for they have been completed. But you will not cease praying for revelations, for you are shameless. The tower which you see building is myself, the Church, who have appeared to you now and on the former occasion. Ask, then, whatever you like in regard to the tower, and I will reveal it to you, that you may rejoice with the saints." I said to her, "Lady, since you have once deemed me worthy of all being revealed to me, reveal it." She said to me, "Whatsoever ought to be revealed will be revealed; only let your heart be with God, and doubt not whatsoever you shall see." I asked her, "Why was the tower built upon the waters, O Lady?" She answered, "I told you before, and you still inquire carefully; therefore inquiring you shall find the truth. Hear then why the tower is built upon the waters: It is because your life has been and will be saved through water. For the tower was founded on the word of the almighty and glorious Name, and it is kept together by the invisible power of the Lord."

4. In reply I said to her, "This is magnificent and marvelous. But who are the six young men who are engaged in building?" And she said, "These are the holy angels of God, who were first created, and to whom the Lord handed over his whole creation, to exalt and build up and rule over every creature. By them will the building of the

tower be finished." "But who are the other persons who are engaged in carrying the stones?" "These also are holy angels of the Lord, but the former six are more excellent than these. The building of the tower then will be finished, and all will rejoice together around the tower, and they will glorify God because the tower is finished." I asked her, saying, "Lady, I should like to know what becomes of the stones, and what was meant by them." In reply she said to me, "Not because you are more deserving than all others that this revelation should be made to you—for there are others before you, and better than you, to whom these visions should have been revealed—but that the name of God may be glorified, has the revelation been made to you, and it will be made on account of the doubtful who ponder in their hearts whether these things will be or not. Tell them that all these things are true, and that none of them is beyond the truth. All of them are firm and sure, and established on a strong foundation.

5. "Hear now with regard to the stones which are in the building. Those square white stones which fitted exactly into each other are apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons, who have lived in godly purity, and have acted as bishops and teachers and deacons chastely and reverently to the elect of God, some of them having fallen asleep, and some being still alive. And they have always agreed with each other, and been at peace among themselves, and listened to each other. On account of this, they join exactly into the building of the tower." "But who are the stones that were dragged from the depths, and which were laid into the building and fitted in with the rest of the stones previously laid?" "They are those who suffered for the Lord's sake." "But I wish to know, O Lady, who are the other stones who were carried from the

land." "Those," she said, "which go into the building without being polished are those whom God has approved of, for they walked in the straight ways of the Lord, and practiced his commandments." "But who are those who are in the act of being brought and placed in the building?" "They are those who are young in faith and are faithful. But they are admonished by the angels to do good, for no iniquity has been found in them." "Who, then, are those whom they rejected and cast away?" "These are they who have sinned and wish to repent. On this account they have not been thrown far from the tower, because they will yet be useful in the building if they repent. Those then who are to repent, if they do repent, will be strong in faith if they now repent while the tower is building. But if the building be finished, there will no longer be room, but they will be rejected. This [privilege] will only be theirs because they lie near the tower.

6. "As to those who were cut down and thrown far away from the tower, do you wish to know who they are? They are the sons of wickedness, and they believed in hypocrisy, and all iniquity did not depart from them. For this reason they are not saved, since they can not be used in the building on account of their iniquities. Wherefore they have been cut off and cast far away on account of the anger of the Lord, for they have roused him to anger. But as to the other stones which you saw lying in great numbers, and not going into the building, those which are rough are those who have known the truth and not remained in it, and have not been joined to the saints; on this account are they unfit for use." "Who are those that have rents?" "These are they who are at discord in their hearts one with another, and are not at peace among themselves; who indeed keep peace before



each other, but when they separate one from the other, their wicked thoughts remain in their hearts. These, then, are the rents which are in the stones. But those which are shortened are those who have indeed believed, and have the larger share of righteousness; yet they have also a considerable share of iniquity, and therefore they are shortened and not whole." "But who are these, Lady, that are white and round, and yet do not fit into the building of the tower?" She answered and said, "How long will you be foolish and stupid, and continue to put every kind of question and understand nothing? These are those who have faith indeed, but they have also the riches of this world. When, therefore, tribulation comes, on account of their riches and business they deny the Lord." I answered and said to her, "When, then, will they be useful for the building, Lady?" "When the riches that now seduce them have been circumscribed, then will they be of use to God. For as a round stone can not become square unless portions be cut off and cast away, so also those who are rich in this world can not be useful to the Lord unless their riches be cut down. Learn this first from your own case. When you were rich you were useless; but now you are useful and fit for life. Be ye useful to God, for you also will be used as one of these stones.

7. "Now, as to the other stones which you saw cast far away from the tower, and falling upon the public road and rolling from it into pathless places: they are those who have indeed believed, but through doubt have abandoned the true road. Thinking, then, that they could find a better, they wander and become wretched, and enter upon pathless places. But those which fell into the fire and were burned are those who have departed for ever from the living God; nor does the thought of

repentance ever come into their hearts, on account of their devotion to their lusts and to the crimes which they committed. Do you wish to know who are the others which fell near the waters, but could not be rolled into them? These are they who have heard the word, and wish to be baptized in the name of the Lord; but when the chastity demanded by the truth comes into their recollection, they draw back, and again walk after their own wicked desires." She finished her exposition of the tower. But I, shameless as I yet was, asked her, "Is repentance possible for all those stones which have been cast away and did not fit into the building of the tower, and will they yet have a place in the tower?" "Repentance," said she, "is yet possible, but in this tower they can not find a suitable place. But in another and much inferior place they will be laid, and that, too, only when they have been tortured and completed the days of their sins. And on this account will they be transferred, because they have partaken of the righteous Word. And then only will they be removed from their punishments when the thought of repenting of the evil deeds which they have done has come into their hearts. But if it does not come into their hearts, they will not be saved, on account of the hardness of their hearts."

8. When, then, I ceased asking in regard to all these matters, she said to me, "Do you wish to see anything else?" And as I was extremely eager to see something more, my countenance beamed with joy. She looked toward me with a smile and said, "Do you see seven women around the tower?" "I do, Lady," said I. "This tower," said she, "is supported by them according to the precept of the Lord. Listen now to their functions. The first of them, who is clasping her hands, is called Faith. Through her the elect of God are saved. Another,

who has her garment tucked up and acts with vigor, is called Self-restraint. She is the daughter of Faith. Whoever then follows her will become happy in his life, because he will restrain himself from all evil works, believing that, if he restrain himself from all evil desire, he will inherit eternal life." "But the others," said I, "O Lady, who are they?" And she said to me, "They are daughters of each other. One of them is called Simplicity, another Guilelessness, another Chastity, another Intelligence, another Love. When, then, you do all the works of their mother, you will be able to live." "I should like to know," said I, "O Lady, what power each of them possesses." "Hear," she said, "what power they have. Their powers are regulated by each other, and follow each other in the order of their birth. For from Faith arises Self-restraint; from Self-restraint, Simplicity; from Simplicity, Guilelessness; from Guilelessness, Chastity; from Chastity, Intelligence; and from Intelligence, Love. The deeds, then, of these are pure, and chaste, and divine. Whoever devotes himself to these, and is able to hold fast by their works, shall have his dwelling in the tower with the saints of God." Then I asked her in regard to the ages, if now there is the conclusion. She cried out with a loud voice, "Foolish man! do you not see the tower yet building? When the tower is finished and built, then comes the end; but it will be finished quickly. Ask me no more questions. Let this be a sufficient reminder and renewal of your spirits to you and to all the saints. But not for your own sake alone have these revelations been made to you, but that you may show them to all. For after three days—this you will take care to remember—I expressly command you, Hermas, to speak all the words which I am to say to you into the ears of the saints, that, hearing them and doing them, they

may be cleansed from their iniquities, and you along with them.

9. "Give ear unto me, O Sons: I have brought you up in much simplicity, and guilelessness, and chastity, on account of the mercy of the Lord, who has dropped his righteousness down upon you, that ye may be made righteous and holy from all your iniquity and depravity; but you do not wish to rest from your iniquity. Now, therefore, listen to me and be at peace one with another, and visit each other, and bear each other's burdens; and do not partake abundantly of God's creatures alone, but give also of them to the needy. For some through the abundance of their food produce weakness in their flesh, and thus corrupt their flesh; while the flesh of others who have no food is corrupted, because they have not sufficient nourishment, and their bodies waste away. This intemperance in eating is thus injurious to you who have abundance, and do not distribute among those who are needy. Give heed to the judgment that is to come. Ye, therefore, who are high in position, seek out the hungry so long as the tower is not finished; for after the tower is finished you will wish to do good, but will find no opportunity. Give heed, therefore, ye who glory in your wealth, lest those who are needy should groan, and their groans should ascend to the Lord, and ye be shut out with all your goods beyond the gate of the tower. Wherefore I now say to you who preside over the church and love the first seats, Be not like to drug-mixers; for the drug-mixers carry their drugs in boxes, but ye carry your drug and poison in your heart. Ye are hardened, and do not wish to cleanse your hearts, and to mingle a purpose to do this with purity of heart, that you may have mercy from the great King. Take heed, therefore, children, that these dissensions of yours do not deprive you of

your life. How will you instruct the elect of the Lord if you yourselves have not instruction? Instruct each other, therefore, and be at peace among yourselves, that I also, standing joyful before your Father, may give an account of you all to your Lord."

10. On her ceasing to speak to me, those six young men who were engaged in building came and conveyed her to the tower, and other four lifted up the seat and carried it also to the tower. The faces of these last I did not see, for they were turned away from me. And as she was going, I asked her to reveal to me the meaning of the three forms in which she appeared to me. In reply she said to me: "With regard to them, you must ask another to reveal their meaning to you." For she had appeared to me, brethren, in the first vision the previous year under the form of an exceedingly old woman, sitting in a chair. In the second vision her face was youthful, but her skin and hair betokened age, and she stood while she spoke to me. She was also more joyful than on the first occasion. But in the third vision she was entirely youthful and exquisitely beautiful, except only that she had the hair of an old woman; but her face beamed with joy, and she sat on a seat. Now I was exceeding sad in regard to these appearances, desiring to know what the visions meant. Then I see the old woman in a vision of the night, saying: "Every prayer should be accompanied with humility; fast, therefore, and you will obtain from the Lord what you beg."

I fasted therefore for one day. That very night there appeared to me a young man, who said: "Why do you ask in prayer that revelations be granted you? Take heed lest by asking many things you injure your flesh. Be content with these revelations. Will you be able to see greater revela-

tions than those which you have seen?" I answered and said to him: "Sir, one thing only I ask, that in regard to these three forms the revelation may be rendered complete." He answered me: "How long are ye sensitive? But your doubts make you sensitive, because you have not your heart turned toward the Lord." But I answered and said to him: "From you, sir, we shall learn these things more accurately."

11. "Hear, then," said he, "with regard to the three forms, concerning which you are inquiring. Why in the first vision did she appear as an old woman seated on a chair? Because your spirit is now old and withered up, and has lost its power in consequence of your infirmities and doubts. For, like elderly men who have no hope of renewing their strength and expect nothing but their last sleep, so you, weakened by worldly occupations, have given yourselves up to sloth, and have not cast your cares upon the Lord. Your spirit therefore is broken, and you have grown old in your sorrows." "I should like then to know, sir, why she sat on a chair." He answered: "Because every weak person sits on a chair on account of his weakness, that the weakness of his body may be sustained. Lo! you have the form of the first vision.

12. "Now in the second vision you saw her standing with a youthful countenance, and more joyful than before; still she had the skin and hair of an aged woman. Hear," said he, "this parable also. When one becomes somewhat old, he despairs of himself on account of his weakness and poverty, and looks forward to nothing but the last day of his life. Then suddenly an inheritance is left him; and hearing of this, he rises up, and becoming exceeding joyful, he puts on strength, and now no longer reclines, but stands up; and his

spirit, already destroyed by his previous actions, is renewed, and he no longer sits, but acts with vigor. So happened it with you on hearing the revelation which the Lord revealed to you. For He had compassion on you, and renewed your spirit, and ye laid aside your infirmities, and vigor arose within you, and ye grew strong in faith; and the Lord, seeing your strength, rejoiced. On this account he showed you the building of the tower; and he will show you other things if you continue at peace with each other with all your heart.

13. "Now, in the third vision, you saw her still younger, and she was noble and joyful, and her shape was beautiful. For just as when some good news comes suddenly to one who is sad, immediately he forgets his former sorrows, and looks for nothing else than the good news which he has heard, and for the future is made strong for good, and his spirit is renewed on account of the joy which he has received; so ye also have received the renewal of your spirits by seeing these good things. As to your seeing her sitting on a seat, that means that her position is one of strength, for a seat has four feet and stands firmly. For the world also is kept together by means of four elements. Those therefore who repent completely and with the whole heart will become young and firmly established. You now have the relation completely given you. Make no further demands for revelations. If anything ought to be revealed, it will be revealed to you."

[Two visions more close the book. *Vision Fourth*.—In this is seen a great beast, indicating the tribulations that are to come upon men. *Vision Fifth*.—To Hermas, lying upon his couch, appears one dressed like a shepherd, and announces himself as sent to be his guardian. He also directs Hermas to write down the commandments and

similitudes which he makes known, and which are comprised in Books Two and Three.

[*Book Two*.—The twelve commandments are : 1. On faith in the One God ; 2. On avoiding evil, and on giving alms in simplicity ; 3. On avoiding falsehood, and on Hermas's repentance for his dissimulation ; 4. On putting away one's wife for adultery ; 5. Concerning anger and patience ; 6. How to recognize the two spirits attendant on each man ; 7. On fearing God and not the devil ; 8. On shunning the evil and doing the good ; 9. On praying with confidence ; 10. Of grief as crushing out the Holy Spirit ; 11. On trying the spirits by their works ; 12. Of banishing every evil desire and putting on the good and holy desire.]

[*Book Three* is commonly divided into ten Similitudes, though several of the divisions contain no similes. *Sim. One*, which Bunsen would make part of the closing address of the previous book, enjoins upon Hermas, as upon one living in a foreign city, not to spend his wealth for earthly houses and lands, but to "buy afflicted souls," and minister to widows and orphans, and thus purchase houses and lands in his own city, against the day when he shall be called to reside in it. *Sim. Two* likens the elm and the vine, in their mutual dependence, to the rich man and the poor man ; the rich supports the poor by his benefactions ; the poor blesses the rich by his prayers. *Sim. Three* likens trees in the winter, when the green can not be distinguished from the withered, to men in this world, where the just can not be distinguished from the unjust. *Sim. Four* likens the summer of the year, when some trees are budding and fruiting and others appear withered, to the world to come, the "summer of the righteous," when the just will show fruit, but the heathen and sinners, those who have been occupied with overmuch business here, will appear



withered and unfruitful. *Sim. Five*, under the figure of a slave, laboring faithfully in his master's vineyard, and receiving reward therefor by being associated as co-heir with the master's son, presents the Son of God. He, the Flesh in which dwelt the Holy Spirit, served faithfully here on earth, and is now received by God as co-heir and partner with the (unincarnate) Holy Spirit (the master's son). By this is taught the dignity of the body, which, as enshrining the Spirit, is to be kept pure. Doing this will be a true fasting unto God. *Sim. Six*, under the figure of two shepherds, one gayly-clad and merry, dancing among his sheep, one clothed in goat-skin and austere, and treating his sheep harshly, represents the angel of luxury and deceit and the angel of punishment and penitence. The latter takes such as have given themselves up to luxury, but have not blasphemed the name of the Lord, and punishes them in this world, until they become true servants of the Lord. Those who have blasphemed the name of the Lord are left to death, there being for them no repentance. *Sim. Seven* contains no simile. They who repent must bring forth worthy fruits. *Sim. Eight* pictures a great willow-tree overshadowing plains and mountains, under which congregate all who have called on the name of the Lord, and receive from a majestic angel branches from the tree. These branches they afterward return, some wholly and some partially withered, some wholly green, some budding and fruiting. The angel crowns those with the fruitful branches, and sends them into the Tower. Those whose branches are variously withered are given over to the angel of penitence, who takes their branches and plants and waters them, so that some of them become green and even fruitful, after which they are again presented to the angel who had distributed them. This willow is God's law.

The branches are the law as received into the hearts of believers. Accordingly as these do or do not bring forth fruit, they are rewarded or are remanded to a course of discipline under God's care, until at last they receive of his grace and live. Only those who have blasphemed the Lord utterly perish. *Sim. Nine* is the most elaborate and beautiful of all. From a hill in Arcadia an angel shows to Hermas a vast plain with twelve mountains around, the first black as soot, the second without grass, the third full of thorns, the others becoming fruitful more and more to the twelfth, which is white and very beautiful. In the midst of the plain is a great white rock, higher than the mountains, capable of holding the whole world. The rock is old, but has a splendid gate appearing new. Around the gate are twelve virgins. Six distinguished-looking men summon a multitude and command that a tower be built above the rock, which is done, the virgins carrying the stones through the gate. Some of the stones are brought from the mountains, some are taken from the earth near by, and all alike, when placed in the tower, become beautifully white. The building finished, the Lord of the tower, in stature overtopping the tower, comes to inspect it. The imperfect stones are removed, and those suitable are redressed for other places. The rest are borne back to the mountains by twelve women, very beautiful in form, clothed in black, and with disheveled hair. The tower, completed, appears as one smooth stone. That night Hermas remains alone with the virgins by the tower, rejoicing and praying with them. The next day all is explained. The rock and the gate are the Son of God. The tower is the Church. The twelve virgins are Faith, Contenance, Power, Patience, etc. The women in black are Unbelief, Incontinence, Disobedience, Deceit, etc. The mountains are the

twelve nations inhabiting the world, who, however various, become one when joined together in the Church of God. *Sim. Ten* presents Hermas receiving commands concerning a ministry of repentance and almsgiving, which he is to perform with the help of twelve virgins (Christian virtues) who will abide with him.]

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## PAPIAS.

“TREASURE held in earthen vessels” is the suggestion of a leading Christian scholar in referring to the gospel in the hands of Papias. But, however earth-born his own conceptions of gospel truth, he undoubtedly testifies as to the existence and the origin of two of our gospels. He was bishop of Hieropolis, a friend of Polycarp, and a hearer of many intimate acquaintances of the apostles, notably of Aristion and the presbyter John. His work suggests for him a Judaic origin, though he may have been a Phrygian. The approximate period of his life was A. D. 75-150. He wrote (*cir.* 130-140) a work in five books, “Expositions of Oracles of the Lord,” of which only a few fragments are left. This is thought to have been a commentary on the gospels, though it is claimed by some to have treated only of our Lord’s *words*, as handed down by tradition. Whatever it was, the illustrative matter was drawn from testimonies by the “living voice” of those who had talked with apostles. Among other informants, Papias mentions the daughters of Philip the Evangelist, who

related that a dead man had been raised to life in his (probably Philip's) day, and that Justus Barsabas had drunk poison without harm. The most noticeable features of the work are its strong chiliasm and its gross literalism. There was to be "a certain millennium after the resurrection," and "a corporeal reign of Christ on this very earth." The work, says Eusebius, who had it entire, "used proofs from the First Epistle of John, and likewise from that of Peter." It is said by Andreas Cæsariensis to have testified to the inspiration of the Revelation. The estimates put upon Papias vary. Eusebius says he was learned in the Scriptures, but "very limited in his comprehension." Irenæus rates him much higher. Although more nearly contemporary with Justin, he is commonly associated with the Apostolic Fathers, as here. Hope is entertained that we may some time have more than these fragments, as a manuscript of Papias "On the Words of the Lord" was in existence as late as A. D. 1218.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE EXPOSITION OF ORACLES  
OF THE LORD.

*From the Preface, as found in Eusebius, quoting Irenæus.*

And I shall not be backward in subjoining to my interpretations whatsoever I at any time learned with accuracy from the elders, and remembered faithfully, affirming it to be true; for I have not, as do the many, found pleasure in those who say many things, but in those speaking the truth; nor in those treasuring up strange commands, but

in those [mindful of] what was given from the Lord to the faith, and who proceed from the truth itself. But if indeed, anywhere, one who had followed the elders came, I inquired searchingly about the words of the elders—what Andrew or what Peter said, or what Philip, or what Thomas or James, or what John or Matthew; or which other of the Lord's disciples [had spoken] that which also Aristion and the presbyter John, disciples of the Lord, spoke. For that which I obtained from books seemed not so valuable to me as what [I derived] from the living and abiding voice.

[Eusebius also speaks of "a tradition which he (Papias) sets forth concerning Mark, who wrote the Gospel, in the following words:"]

And the presbyter said this: Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately whatever he remembered, though indeed not [setting down] in order what was said or done by Christ; for he did not hear the Lord, nor did he follow him: but afterward, as I said, [he followed] Peter, who adapted his discourses to the necessities of the occasion, but not so as to furnish a systematic account of the oracles of the Lord; so that Mark committed no fault when he wrote some things as he recollected them. For of one thing he took care—to pass by nothing which he heard and not to falsify in anything.

["Of Matthew," Eusebius continues, "he has stated as follows:"]

Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew tongue; and every one interpreted them as he was able.

# THE APOLOGISTS

OF THE

## SECOND CENTURY.

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*The Age of the Apologists* was the time when the rising faith first began to make formal expositions and defenses of itself before the learned world. Not all the works of the age were of this apologetic character; on the contrary, the range of Christian literature was now wide, in comparison with that of the earlier part of the period. Besides letters, such as those of Dionysius of Corinth, there were chronicles, like that of Hegesippus; books of tradition, like those of Papias; visions, such as the "Shepherd of Hermas"; tales, like the Clementine; treatises on particular doctrines, like that of Athénagoras on the resurrection; and other forms of composition.

*Characteristic Writings.*—Still the works which characterized the age were apologies, or treatises in defense either of Christians or of Christian truth. These were of two kinds: first, those addressed to political rulers, and designed to secure to Christians their political rights; secondly, those intended to

influence individual opinions. The latter class may again be grouped as : 1, those directed to Gentile minds ; 2, those setting forth the claims of Christianity as against Judaism ; 3, those defending the faith against heretics. The remains of these writings are small, but sufficient to show us what they were.

Two of the earliest apologetic writers were the Athenians Quadratus and Aristides. Both their apologies were of the first class, having been addressed to the Emperor Hadrian during one of his visits to Athens. The appeal of Quadratus is said to have procured the rescript to Minucius in favor of the Christians. (See p. 180.) The single passage of this apology which we have is the following : "The works of our Saviour were always present ; for they were real : even those healed and those raised from the dead : who were seen not only when they were healed and raised up, but also [were seen] continually, being present ; and that not only while the Saviour remained, but also after his departure for a considerable time, so that some of them survived even to our time."

An apology of the second class, which, if not actually written at Athens, yet, judging from its tone, might have been, is the valuable "Epistle to Diognetus." It belongs to the group directed to gentile and philosophic thinkers. The second group of this class was represented by such works as the "Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus," which has been attributed to Aristo of Pella. This work, which was praised by Origen for its dramatic skill, represented a Hebrew Christian as convincing an Alexandrian Jew that the prophecies of the Mes-

siah were applicable to Jesus. The third group contained works like that of Agrippa Castor. He wrote in refutation of Basilides, and, by certain strictures which he made upon the latter's use of imaginary prophets, proved to us that the second century was not wholly devoid of historical criticism.

Other apologies of the first class were those of Claudius Apollinaris, Miltiades, Melito, Justin, and Athenagoras. All of these writers addressed apologies to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. The first, who was bishop of Hierapolis, wrote various treatises, of which we have left only two short fragments in regard to the observance of Easter. Of the works of Miltiades, who was a converted rhetorician, we have nothing. Of the other three, sketches are given before their several writings. Suffice it here to say that the central Christian figure and the representative apologist of his age was Justin. Two names only remain to be mentioned, of the apologists who adhered to the Catholic Church. Theophilus was made bishop of Antioch during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Besides other works, he wrote (in the reign of Commodus) three books to Autolycus, which have come down to us. These books were designed to convince a learned heathen of the truth of Christianity, and are chiefly prized to-day on account of their many references to books of the New Testament. Hermias, of whom we know nothing save that he was called the philosopher, and lived toward the close of the period, wrote a brief work entitled "A Deriding of Gentile Philosophers."

An exceptional writer of his age was Hegesippus.



He was a Hebrew, who, desirous of learning the doctrines and practices of the whole Church, made a journey from Jerusalem to Rome, visiting many bishops on the way, and finding among all the same doctrine. The results of his inquiries he recorded in five "Memorials of Ecclesiastical Transactions." The books are now lost, but they were in the hands of Eusebius, who classes Hegesippus with other "champions of the truth" whose writings proved their orthodoxy and soundness in the faith. Some interest centers in this writer on account of the claim made by certain critics that he was an Ebionite, and that, since he says that all the churches of his day were agreed, the whole Church was strongly Judaistic down to a late day, when, by the influence of the forged Gospel of John, it was carried over to the Catholic doctrines. The simple reply made to this conjecture has been that Eusebius explicitly testified to Hegesippus's orthodoxy.

Dionysius of Corinth and Pinytus were mentioned in our introduction, as also a letter from the churches of Vienne and Lyons. This letter, preserved in large part by Eusebius, was written to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, and gave a detailed account of the fearful torture and the triumphant faith of the Christians who had lately been persecuted. These Western churches also subjoined their opinions as to the Montanists, who were then first appearing in the East, which opinions, says Eusebius, were "at once pious and most orthodox."

*Heretics.*—An estimate of the Christian life of this age can not be rightly formed without considering certain writers outside the Church. From the

days of the apostles there had been teachers of false doctrines, more or less closely associated with the great body afterward known as Catholic Christians. There were existing in the age under discussion two opposite types of error: Ebionism, or a heretical exaggeration of the Jewish-Christian idea of ritual observances; and a speculative Gnosticism, which dealt with Christianity as a philosophy rather than as a power to regenerate mankind. It was an age of intellectual activity, and, as we have seen, Christianity was beginning to displace the old philosophies. But with Christian truth there was mingled by the Gnostics every variety of Oriental theological and Greek philosophical speculation. Such views came to prevail very widely, side by side with Christian teachings, and thus controversies between Christians and Gnostics formed a feature of the religious life of the day.

Among Gnostic writers should be noticed Basilides, who lived early in the century. He claimed to have certain esoteric knowledge, given him by Matthias, who had heard it from the Lord when teaching privately. Origen says that he wrote a "gospel," which is now conjectured to have been a work on the philosophy of Christianity, or possibly commentaries on the Gospel. Later lived Valentinus, who gave his name to a Gnostic sect. He professed to follow the teachings of one Theodas, a follower of Paul. He wrote the "Gospel of Truth," a work thought to have been speculative and mystical, rather than historical like the canonical Gospels. Two other "gospels" of a similar character circulated among the Gnostics: the "Gospel of

Eve" and the "Gospel of Perfection." Heracleon and Ptolemæus were both Valentinians. The former wrote commentaries on the Gospels; the latter systematized the teachings of Valentinus. Of the works of these four writers only fragments are left; but these are regarded with interest, from their testimony to the early recognition of the New Testament books as Scripture.

We notice now two important heretical writers who were at one time connected with the Catholic Church. Tatian was a disciple of Justin, and carried on the latter's work at Rome for a little time after his death. Subsequently, removing to the East, he became leader of the Gnostic sect known as the Encratites. Tatian wrote many works, of which we have only one, an "Address to Greeks," written probably before he left the Church. He wrote also an important work known as the "Diataxaron," which Eusebius says was "a combination and collection of the Gospels," and which began with the opening statement of the Gospel of John.

Marcion, also contemporary with Justin, was a man of great personal power. He left the church after having, as it is said, aspired to the first place in the church at Rome, and gained in time a great following. Polycarp is said to have denounced him as the "first-born of Satan." His doctrine was of an extreme anti-Judaistic type, Pauline writings alone being received by him as Scripture. He formed the first canon of the New Testament, which consisted of "The Gospel," a recension of Luke, and "The Apostolicon," or ten epistles of Paul. Among other works written by Catholics against

Marcion were those of Philippus and Modestus, that of the latter being extant in the time of Jerome.

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## AUTHOR OF EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

“Indisputably, after Scripture, the finest monument we know of sound Christian feeling, noble courage, and manly eloquence.” Such is the estimate of this work by Bunsen, and yet of its author we *know* literally nothing. Long assigned without reason to Justin, the epistle has since been variously conjectured to be the work of Apollos, Quadratus, Aristides, and Marcion. Others, influenced by the absence of all allusions to the epistle in ancient writers, have called it a modern forgery. The author of “Supernatural Religion” thinks it a late work, “written expressly in imitation of early Christian feeling.” Commonly, however, it is allowed to be an early work, the assigned dates ranging somewhere from A. D. 125 to 175. The epistle is in two parts—caps. i.–x. and xi.–xii.—of which the second is by a later (though not much later) author than the first. Part first has a distinctively Grecian cast, exalting *faith*; part second an Alexandrian tone, extolling *knowledge*. The whole work is claimed by apologists to bear strong testimony to the writings of John and Paul. The single original manuscript, from which the text here used was derived, was destroyed in 1870.

## EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

1. Since I see thee, most excellent Diognetus, very eager to learn the habits of worship of the Christians, and inquiring very wisely and carefully concerning them—by the worship of what God, and how adoring him, they all despise the world and make light of death, and neither receive the gods worshiped by the Greeks nor cherish the superstition of the Jews; also what sort of love they cherish for one another; and why then this new sort of fashion has come into the world now, and not long ago—I heartily approve this thy desire, and seek from God, who gives us to speak and to hear, both to grant me so to speak that above all thou, hearing, mayest be bettered, and to grant thee so to hear that I, speaking, shall not regret.

2. Come, then, having divested thyself of all the considerations preoccupying thy mind, and laying aside the habits which beguile thee, and becoming, as from the beginning, a new man, and as about to be a learner of a new doctrine, even as thou hast confessed, behold, not only with the eyes but also with the mind, of what nature or what form they happen to be whom ye think of and worship as gods. Is not one a stone, like that trodden upon; and another brass, not better than skewers wrought for our use; and another wood, even now rotten; and another silver, needing a man to guard it, that it may not be stolen; and another iron, weakened by rust; and another clay, no more sightly than that devoted to unhonored usage? Are not all these of perishable materials? Are they not forged by iron and fire? Did not the stone-cutter fashion one of them, and the brazier another, and the silversmith another, and the potter another? Before

they were wrought by the arts of these into these forms, had not each of them in its own way been transformed, as still happens? Would not what are now skewers, made of this material, should they chance upon the same artificers, become like to these? Are not these again which are now worshiped by you able to become skewers like the others by the power of man? Are they not deaf? Are they not blind? Are they not lifeless? Are they not without feeling? Are they not all liable to rot? Are they not all corruptible? Ye call these gods; ye serve them, ye worship them; and ye become absolutely like them. On account of this ye hate the Christians, because they do not deem these to be gods. [Why this?] For do not ye who now recognize and serve them much more cast contempt on them? Do ye not much rather mock and despise them, worshipping those of stone and clay without affording them keepers, and those of silver and gold, shutting up by night and placing under keepers by day, that they be not stolen? By that which ye intend to present to them as an honor, if they are sensible, ye rather punish them; but if they are senseless, ye convict them thereof when ye worship them with blood and the steam of sacrifices. Let one of you suffer these things. Let one of you endure that these things happen to himself. But no human being will willingly permit one of these affronts, for he has sensation and reason: the stone, however, permits it, for it is without sensation. Therefore do ye prove their want of sensation. Concerning the Christians not worshipping such gods, then, I am able to say many and different things; but if these should not seem sufficient to any one, I deem it superfluous to say more.

3. Next I deem thee most desirous of knowing about this, that they [Christians] do not worship

according to the same usages with the Jews. The Jews, then, if they avoid this servitude before mentioned, and if they deem it right to worship one God as Lord of all, think wisely; but if they offer this worship to him in a like manner with those before mentioned, they are foolish. For they, thinking to offer to God, as if he needed anything, those things, by the offering of which to the senseless and dumb the Greeks prove their folly, rightly declare it to be foolishness, not worship. For he, having made heaven and earth and all things in them, and providing for us all that which we need, himself has need of no one of those things which he supplies to those thinking to give. And those thinking to offer sacrifice to him with blood and smoke and burnt offering, and to honor him with these tokens, seem to me to differ in no way from those paying the same tribute to things that are dumb, that are not able to receive honor, in that they think to give something to one who has need of nothing.

4. But, in truth, as to their scrupulousness about meat, and the superstition about the sabbath, and the vain boasting of circumcision, and the hypocrisy about fasting and the new moon, ridiculous and not worthy of speech, I do not suppose you care to learn from me. For the receiving of some of the things created by God for the use of man as created well, and the rejection of some as useless and bad, how is it not godless? And the false representation of God as forbidding to do any good on the sabbath day, how is it not impious? And the pretending that the diminution of the flesh is a witness of election, as if on account of this they were especially beloved of God, how is it not worthy of ridicule? And their observance of months and days, being always with the stars and the moon, and their assigning of the appointments of God and the

changes of the seasons according to their own impulses, some for feasting and some for mourning, who thinks to be a proof of reverence to God and not much more of foolishness? I think thee, then, sufficiently persuaded that Christians rightfully abstain from the common vanity and error, and from the meddlesomeness and vain boasting of the Jews; but thou must not expect to be able to learn the mystery of their peculiar way of worshiping God from a man.

5. For Christians are different neither in country, nor speech, nor race, from the rest of men. For they do not anywhere inhabit a city of their own, nor do they use any strange dialect, nor do they follow any marked kind of life. This wisdom of theirs is not found out for them by any reflection or deep thought of inquisitive men, nor do they, like some men, set forth human doctrine. Inhabiting both Grecian and barbarian cities, as each has received by lot, and following the nations among whom they dwell in dress and food and the other affairs of life, they exhibit the wonderful and confessedly paradoxical character of their polity. They inhabit their native country, but only as sojourners; they share all things as citizens, and endure all things as foreigners; every foreign land is as their native country, and every land of their birth as a foreign land. They marry as do all, and beget children, but they do not expose their offspring; they have a common table, but not a common bed. They chance to be in the flesh, but they do not live according to the flesh; they reside upon earth, but their dwelling place is in heaven; they obey the established laws, and in their own lives they rise above the laws. They love all, and by all they are pursued. They are unknown, and are condemned; they are put to death, and are made alive again. They are poor, and they make



many rich ; they are destitute of all things, and in all they abound. They are without honor, and in this want of honor they glory ; they are evil spoken of, and they are justified. They are reviled, and they bless ; they are insulted, and they pay honor. Doing good, they are punished as evil doers ; being punished, they rejoice as being made alive. They are assailed by Jews as strangers, and by Greeks they are persecuted ; and cause for the opposition those who hate them have none to assign.

6. But to put it plainly : As the soul is in the body, so are Christians in the world. The soul permeates all the members of the body, and Christians are throughout the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body and is not of the body ; Christians too dwell in the world and are not of the world. The soul, invisible, keeps guard in the visible body ; and Christians are known as being in the world, but their way of worshiping God remains unseen. The flesh hates the spirit and makes war upon it, though suffering nothing, because it is prevented from enjoying pleasures ; and the world hates Christians, being in no way injured, because they forswear pleasures. The soul loves the flesh which hates it, and the members ; and Christians love those who hate them. The soul is shut up in the body, and itself preserves the body ; Christians also dwell in the world as in a prison, and themselves preserve the world. The immortal soul abides in a mortal tabernacle ; and Christians dwell in perishable [habitations], expecting incorruption in heaven. Deprived of food and drink, the soul becomes better ; Christians again, punished every day, rather increase in numbers. To such a station God assigns them, which it were not lawful for them to forsake.

7. For this is not, as I say, an earthly invention which is committed to them, nor do they think it

worth their while to guard so carefully a mortal discovery, nor are they intrusted with the administration of human mysteries. But truly of his own accord the omnipotent and all-creating and unseen God himself fixed in men and established in their hearts the truth from heaven and the holy and incomprehensible Word; not, as some man might suppose [he would], having sent some servant, either messenger or governor, either one of those who direct earthly affairs, or one of those intrusted with governments in the heavens; but the very Creator and Fashioner of all things, by whom he confined the sea within its own bounds, whose mysterious laws all the starry signs faithfully observe, from whom the sun receives for observance the bounds of his daily course, whom the moon obeys as he commands to shine by night, whom the stars obey following in the course of the moon, by whom all things are marked out and defined and put in subjection, the heavens and things in the heavens, the earth and things in the earth, the sea and things in the sea, fire, air, the abyss, things in the heights and things in the depths, and those in middle space. This one he sent to them. Was it then, as one might suppose, for tyranny and [to cause] fear and consternation? Not at all; but in 'sweet reasonableness' and mildness. As a King sending his son, a King, he sent him; as God he sent him; as to men he sent him; as saving he sent him; as persuading, not as compelling: for compulsion does not characterize God. He sent him as calling, not as pursuing us; he sent him as loving, not judging. For he will send him as judge; and who shall stand before his coming? . . . [Dost thou not see them] thrown to the wild beasts in order that they may deny the Lord, and not overcome? Dost thou not see that as more of them are punished, so the rest increase the more? These things seem not to be

the work of man ; these are the power of God ; these are the evidences of his manifestation.

8. For who among men at all understood what God is, until he came ? Can it be that thou dost receive the senseless and frivolous words of those [deemed] trustworthy philosophers ? of whom some said that God was fire (they call that God to which they are about to come), and some water, and some some other one of the elements created by God. And, indeed, if any one of these opinions is received, it would be possible also for each one of the other things created to be represented as God. But these things are the humbug and error of sorcerers. And no one of men has seen him or made him known ; but he has revealed himself. And he has revealed himself through faith, by which alone it is permitted to see God. For God the Lord and Fashioner of all, having made all things, and having assigned them to their position, not only proved to be a lover of men, but also long-suffering. But he was always of such nature, and is and shall be, kind and good and without wrath and true, and he is alone good ; and having considered the great and unspeakable plan, he communicated it to his Son alone. So long, therefore, as he kept in mystery and guarded his own wise counsel, he seemed to be unmindful and careless of us ; but when he made a revelation through his beloved Son, and disclosed the things prepared from the beginning, all things came to us at once, both to share in his good deeds and to see and notice things which who of us would even have expected ?

9. Having already therefore administered all things by himself with his Son, during [all] the time past, he suffered us as we would to be carried away with lawless impulses, being overcome of pleasures and lusts, not at all delighting in our sins, but suffering [them], neither approving of the then

time of unrighteousness, but working out the present [time] of righteousness; that being convinced in that time of our unworthiness of life through our own works, we might now become worthy through the goodness of God; and having made manifest the impossibility of coming through our own selves into the kingdom of God, we should become able through the power of God. And when our sin was filled up, and it was made fully manifest that the reward of the same, punishment and death, was expected, and the time came which God had already appointed to make manifest his goodness and power—O the surpassing benevolence and love of God!—he did not hate us, nor thrust us away, nor bear us malice; but he was long-suffering and forbearing. He himself took on him our sins, himself gave his own Son a ransom for us, the holy One for the lawless, the blameless One for the wicked, the righteous One for the unrighteous, the spotless One for the defiled, the immortal One for mortals. For what else but his righteousness was able to cover our sins? By whom could we, lawless and disobedient, be made righteous but by the Son of God alone? O sweet exchange! O untraceable working! O unexpected kindnesses! that the lawlessness of many should be hid in One who is righteous, and the righteousness of One should make righteous many who were lawless. Having then proved in the time past the powerlessness of our nature to attain to life, and having now made manifest a Saviour, able to save even things [which it was once] impossible to save, by both these things he sought that we should believe in his goodness; that we should esteem him our Nourisher, Father, Teacher, Counsellor, Healer, Wisdom, Light, Honor, Glory, Power, Life; that we should not be anxious about dress and food.

10. If thou also dost desire this faith, thou must

first gain a knowledge of the Father. For God loves men, on whose account he made the world, to whom he subjected all things in [the earth], to whom he gave reason, to whom understanding, to whom alone he gave to look upward to himself, whom he formed after his own image, to whom he sent his only begotten Son, to whom he gave promise of the kingdom in heaven, and he will give it to those who love him. And knowing [the Father], with what joy dost thou think to be filled? Or how wilt thou love him who has so loved thee before? And having loved, thou mayest be an imitator of his goodness. And do not wonder if it is possible for a man to be an imitator of God. If he desire it, it is possible. For it is not happiness, either to oppress one's neighbors, or to wish to have preëminence over those who are weaker, or to be wealthy and use violence toward inferiors; nor is any one able by these things to be an imitator of God, but these things are foreign to his majesty. But whoever takes upon himself the burdens of his neighbor, who, in whatsoever he is superior, wishes to benefit him who is lacking, who, whatever he has received from God, by ministering to those who lack becomes a God to them receiving, this one is an imitator of God. Then thou shalt see, being upon earth, that God rules in heaven; then shalt thou begin to speak the mysteries of God; then thou shalt both love and admire those who are punished on account of their unwillingness to deny God; then thou shalt condemn the deceit of the world and the error, when thou knowest what it is truly to live in heaven, when thou despisest what is here called death, when thou fearest what is truly death, which is reserved for those condemned to fire eternal which punishes those given over to it unto the end. Then those suffering for righteousness' sake the fire of the present thou shalt admire,

and thou shalt deem them blessed when thou shalt know that fire . . . .

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II. [I do not speak of strange things, nor do I seek things unlooked for; but, being a disciple of the apostles, I become a teacher of the Gentiles, ministering worthily of the things given me to those who are disciples of the truth. For who, having been rightly instructed, and having become a friend to the Word, does not seek to learn wisely the things made clearly manifest through the Word to the disciples, to whom the Word appearing has revealed them, speaking frankly, not understood by unbelievers, but speaking in detail to disciples, who being accounted faithful by Him know the mysteries of the Father. On account of which he sent the Word that he might be manifest to the world, who having been despised by the people [the Jews], and being preached by the apostles, is believed on by the Gentiles. This is he who was from the beginning, appearing now and being found old, and being everywhere born in the hearts of the saints. This is the everlasting One, who is to-day accounted the Son, through whom the Church is enriched, and grace spread abroad is increased in the saints, supplying understanding, revealing mysteries, announcing seasons, rejoicing over the faithful, being given to those who seek, by whom the vows of the faith are not broken, and the landmarks of the fathers are not removed. Then the fear of the law is chanted, and the grace of the prophets is known, and the faith of the gospel is established, and the tradition of the apostles is guarded, and the grace of the Church is exultant. Grieving not which grace, thou shalt know what things the Word discourses, through whom he will, when he pleases. For whatsoever things we are moved to declare with pains by

the will of the commanding Word, from love of the things disclosed to us, we become sharers with you.

12. Reading and listening to which things with attention, ye shall know what things God has prepared for those who rightly love [him], being made a paradise of delight bearing in themselves a fruitful, flourishing tree, and being adorned with all manner of fruits. For in this place is planted the tree of knowledge and the tree of life; but the [tree] of knowledge does not kill, though disobedience destroys. For not without significance are the writings that God from the beginning planted in the midst of paradise the tree of knowledge and the tree of life, through knowledge revealing life; which not using properly, they who were from the beginning were stripped naked through the deceit of the serpent. For there is no life without knowledge, nor is knowledge secure without true life. Wherefore each was planted a neighbor to the other. Perceiving the force of which, the apostle, blaming that knowledge which, without the commanding force of truth, influences life, says, "Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth." For thinking to know anything without knowledge which is true and is testified to by the life, one knows nothing; he is deceived by the serpent, not having loved life: but knowing with fear, and seeking life, one plants with hope, expecting fruit. Let your heart be knowledge and your life true wisdom, contained within. Bearing which tree and seizing its fruit, you will be gathering always that which is desired by God, which the serpent does not touch; neither is Eve [then] approached by deceit, nor corrupted, but, a virgin, is trusted; and salvation is set forth, and apostles are filled with understanding, and the passover of the Lord advances, and the tapers are gathered and placed in order, and the Word, teach-

ing the saints, rejoices, by whom the Father is glorified: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.]

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## JUSTIN.

PHILOSOPHER and Martyr are the distinguishing titles of this chief of the early apologists. He was born in Samaria, of Greek parents, somewhere about A. D. 100. Becoming an earnest seeker after God, as he tells us in his "Dialogue with Trypho," he studied with the various philosophical sects, hearing the most to commend among the Platonists. At last, finding the object of his search revealed in the prophetic writings, which pointed to God the Father of all and to Christ as the Son of God (see "Dialogue"), he became a Christian. His conversion, like that of Paul, was a call to proclaim to the world the knowledge of Christ; not like the apostle, by founding Churches, but by retaining his philosopher's dress and habits, and quietly teaching this new and divine philosophy to all seekers after truth. Like Paul, he felt himself a debtor to all men, of every race and rank in life, to teach them, as much as in him lay, of his new Master and of the way of salvation. We see him at Ephesus using all his knowledge of Scripture to persuade a little group of Jews to receive Jesus as the promised Christ. We hear him in his apologies to the Emperors not merely arguing as a philosopher for the toleration of Christians, but appealing personally to the sovereigns of the world to accept this faith in a



crucified Lord. Again we see him in his work at Rome, commending the truth to all who congregated there from every nation, and denouncing the falsehoods of heretics like Marcion and Crescens. In such labors he passed his life, his reward being—again like Paul—a martyr's death at Rome, A. D. 163. An ancient "Martyrium" says that, in company with other confessors, he was beheaded.

Justin's praises are sounded by the whole early Church. Writers like Irenæus and Tertullian borrowed very largely from his works; later fathers appeal to him as to one speaking with authority; no other name so great as his intervenes between John and Origen. It is, however, the man more than his writings that we admire; and in the writings it is the truth which he utters, rather than the form in which he puts it, that attracts us. He appears in the midst of that cultured and curious, but hollow and heartless second century, like an old Hebrew prophet waking after a sleep of centuries, and assuming the philosopher's cloak as the nearest approach to his old sheepskin mantle. He denounces woes upon the Cæsar if he does not repent, as boldly as Elijah rebuked the sins of Ahab. He feels through every fiber of his being that he is called to utter the truth of God, and so speaking he knows no fear. And yet, with all his prophetic boldness, Justin was a philosopher, and, in spite of occasional narrow reasonings, he was a broad thinker. He could discern good beyond the circle of nominal believers in Christ. For his doctrine of the *Logos*, by which Christianity appeared to him as the full and perfect manifestation in humanity

of that Divine Word or Reason of which philosophy and prophecy had already given feeble suggestions, led him to commend everything that was true in philosophy, as well as in prophecy, as of God. They who had uttered such truth were Christians. Socrates was a Christian; Elijah was a Christian. They were not, however, Christ. Some seeds of the *λόγος σπέρματικός* had germinated within them. They were not themselves the Word that was God. Still, for what they were, Justin revered them. God had spoken through them. Suffering for the truth, they had been martyrs of the Word, as truly as any who were then witnessing with their lives. Thus the history of the world had been one continuous progress of the Divine Word, making himself felt somewhat among the Greeks, revealing himself more fully among the Hebrews, but at last standing forth in entirety in the Saviour of the world.

Justin's works, of the genuineness of which there is no reasonable doubt, are two "Apologies," addressed to the emperors, and the "Dialogue with Trypho." There are attributed to Justin, but on doubtful evidence, the following works: "An Address to the Greeks," "A Hortatory Address to the Greeks," fragments of a work on "The Resurrection of the Dead," and a work on the "Sole Government of God." Other works have been assigned to him which have no shadow of claim to his authorship.

A large part of the "First Apology" is here given. Of the "Dialogue," which, in full text, is of about the size of this volume, only a summary could be given—full enough, however, to indicate the scope and order of the argument.

## THE FIRST APOLOGY OF JUSTIN.

1. To the Emperor Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Cæsar, to his son Verissimus the philosopher, and Lucius the philosopher, the natural son of Cæsar, but the adopted son of Pius, and the lover of learning, and to the sacred Senate, and to the whole people of Rome, in favor of those men of all nations who are unjustly hated and oppressed, I, Justin, the son of Priscus, and grandson of Bacchius, native of Flavia Neapolis, a city of Palestine, being one of them, have composed this address and petition.

2. Reason directs that all who are really pious and philosophical should honor and love that alone which is true, and refuse to follow the opinion of the ancients, should they prove to be worthless; for sound reason requires that we should not only reject those who do or teach anything wrong, but that by every means, and before his own life, the lover of truth ought, even if threatened with death, to choose to speak and to do what is right.

You everywhere, then, hear yourselves termed pious, and philosophers, and guardians of justice, and lovers of learning; it shall [now] be seen whether you are indeed such. For we have not come to flatter you by these writings of ours, nor to bespeak favor; but to make our claim to be judged after a strict and searching inquiry; so that neither by prejudice, nor desire of popularity from the superstitious, nor by any unthinking impulse of zeal, nor by that evil report which has so long kept possession of your minds, you may be urged to give a decision against yourselves. For it is our maxim that we can suffer harm from none, unless we be convicted as doers of evil, or proved to be wicked: you may indeed slay us, but hurt us you can not.

3. But lest any should think that this is a senseless and rash assertion, I entreat that the charges against us may be examined; and if they be substantiated, let us be punished as it is right to punish any other; but if no man has anything of which to accuse us, true reason does not allow you through a wicked report to wrong the innocent, or rather yourselves, who (so doing) are disposed to conduct this suit not by judgment but by passion. And every sober-minded person will think this to be the only good and right proceeding, namely, that the subjects should give a blameless account of their life and doctrine; and that their rulers should, on the other hand, equally give sentence, not under the guidance of violence and tyranny, but of piety and wisdom. Thus will both prince and people be blessed. For one of the ancients has somewhere said, "Unless the princes and people become philosophers, it is impossible for cities to become happy." It is my undertaking, then, to give all men an account both of our life and doctrines; lest, instead of those who see fit to be ignorant of our customs, we should pay the penalty of those offenses which they blindly commit; but it is your duty, as reason requires, when you hear us, to approve yourselves good judges. For if, for the rest, you, having understood, do not what is just, it is [an offense] without excuse against God.

4. The naming of a name, then, implies neither good nor evil, apart from the actions which are connected with that name; and we, as far as the name that is laid to our charge goes, must be considered as very good men. [Referring to the similarity of *χριστός*, Christ, and *χρηστός*, excellent.] But as we should not think it right, if convicted of any crime, to ask to be acquitted for the sake of the name, so on the other hand, if we be found guilty of no wrong, either through our adoption of a name

or through our mode of life, it is your duty to take anxious care that you do not, by unjustly punishing the innocent, justly bring punishment on yourselves. From a name, then, neither praise nor punishment can rightly spring, unless something be produced good or bad in practice. [The test must reach the lives of the individuals who bear the name.]

5. [The charge of atheism comes from demons who likewise accused Socrates.]

6. Hence it is that we are even termed atheists. And we confess ourselves atheists as regards such beings if they be esteemed as gods, but not with respect to the most true God and Father of righteousness and sobriety, and all other virtues, and who partakes not of evil; but both him and his son, who came from him, and taught us these truths, and the host of the other good angels who follow and imitate him, and the Spirit of prophecy, we reverence and worship, honoring him in reason and truth, and fully instructing every one who wishes to learn as we are taught ourselves.

7. [Each Christian must be tried by his own life.]

8. [Christians confess their faith in God, who, by Christ, will punish the wicked everlastingly.]

9. [Folly of idol worship.]

10. And we have learned that God has no need of material offerings from man, seeing that he gives us all things, and we have been taught, and are convinced and believe, that he only receives those who imitate the virtues which appertain to him, namely, temperance, and justice, humanity, and all that is worthy of a God who is called by no proper name. And we are also taught that he in his goodness created all things in the beginning from shapeless matter, for the sake of men, who, if by their works they approve themselves worthy to

his counsel, shall, we believe, be thought worthy of a dwelling with him, there to reign with him, free henceforth from corruption and suffering. For as he created us at first when we were not, so also we believe that he will hold those who choose what is pleasing to him worthy, because of their choice, of immortality and of dwelling with himself; for though our birth was not originally our own doing, yet in order that we may choose to follow what is pleasing to him, he, by the reasonable faculties which he has bestowed on us, both persuades us, and leads us to faith. And we think that it is to the benefit of all men that they are not prohibited from the knowledge of these things, but are even urged to turn their attention to them. For what human laws were incapable of doing, that the Word, which is divine, would effect, were it not that the evil demons, aided by the wicked and varied inclination to evil, which is in the nature of every man, have scattered about so many false and godless accusations, of which none apply to us.

11. And, when you hear that we look for a kingdom, you rashly conclude that we mean a human one, although we declare that it is to be that which is with God, as is proved by the fact that, when examined by you, we own ourselves to be Christians, though we know that for every one who confesses this the punishment is death. For, if we expected a human kingdom, we should deny our name that we might escape destruction, and should endeavor to elude you, that we might obtain our expectations; but since we fix not our hopes on the present, we take no thought when men murder us, death at any rate being owed by all.

12. [Christians live as under God's eye, and so should not be feared by good princes.]

13. That we are not atheists, therefore, what moderate person will not confess, from our worship

of the Creator of this universe, whom we assert, as we have been taught, to have no need of sacrifices of blood, and libations, and incense, but whom we praise to the best of our power with the reasonable service of prayer and thanksgiving, in all our oblations, having been instructed that the only service that is worthy of him is, not to consume by fire what he has given us for our sustenance, but to apply it to our own benefit, and to that of those who are in need, and, showing ourselves grateful to him, in speech to offer him solemn acts of worship and hymns for our creation, for all our means of health, for the qualities of things, and for the changes of seasons, and putting up prayers that we may have a resurrection to incorruptibility through our faith in him. Our Teacher of these things is Jesus Christ, who was even born for that purpose, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar; whom, having learned him to be the Son of the very God, and holding him to be in the second place, and the Spirit of prophecy in the third, I will prove that we worship with reason. From this, however, people assure us of madness, affirming that we assign the second place, after the immutable and eternal God and Father of all things, to a crucified man; not knowing the mystery that is herein; to which I entreat you to give heed, as I proceed to explain it.

14. [The demons misrepresent Christian doctrine.]

15. On chastity then he [Christ] spoke thus: "Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart before God." And, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out; it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of heaven with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into everlasting fire." And, "Whosoever shall marry her that

is divorced from another husband, committeth adultery." And, "There are some who are made eunuchs of men, and some who are born eunuchs, and some who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake; but all can not receive this saying." So that all who, by human law, contract second marriages, are sinners in the eyes of our Master, and they who look upon a woman to lust after her; for not only is the man who commits adultery in fact rejected by him, but even he who does so in will, since not only are our works manifest to God, but even our very wishes. And there are many men and women, of sixty and seventy years of age, who were disciplined to Christ from their youth, and now remain spotless; and it is my pride to be able to produce such from every nation. What shall I say, too, of that countless multitude who have laid aside their former licentiousness, and learned these things? For Christ called not the righteous and the temperate to repentance, but the wicked and the intemperate, and the unjust. And he spoke as follows; "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance." For our heavenly Father would rather the repentance of a sinner than his punishment.

And, on the love that we should bear to all men, he taught thus: "If ye love them which love you, what new thing do ye? For even fornicators do the same. But I say unto you, Pray for your enemies, love those that hate you, bless them which curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you." And to incite us to communicate to those who have need, and to do nothing for praise, he said: "Give to every one that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not away; for if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive again, what new thing do ye? This even the publicans do. Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth



where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where moth and rust doth not corrupt. For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul; or what shall a man give in exchange for it? Lay up for yourselves therefore treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt." And, "Be you kind and merciful, as your Father is kind and merciful, who maketh his sun to rise upon sinners, on the just and on the evil. Take no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on. Are ye not much better than birds and beasts? And yet God feedeth them. Be not therefore solicitous what ye shall eat, or wherewithal ye shall be clothed; for your Father which is in heaven knoweth that ye have need of these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you. For where the treasure is, there also is the mind of man." And, "Do not these things to be seen of men, otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven."

16. And what he said about being patient and ready to assist all men, and free from anger, is as follows: "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy cheek, turn to him the other also; and him that would take away thy cloak or thy coat, forbid not. Whosoever is angry is in danger of the fire. Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Let your good works so shine before men, that they may see them, and glorify your father which is in heaven." For we ought not to rise up in strife, nor would he have us imitators of the wicked, but he has urged us, by patience and meekness, to convert all from shame and the lust of evil. And this [work] I have to show in the case of many that were numbered with you, who changed from violent and tyrannical characters, being overcome either

from having watched the constancy of their neighbors' lives, or from having observed the wonderful patience of fellow travelers under unjust exactions, or from the trial they made of those with whom they were concerned in business.

And with regard to not swearing at all, and always speaking the truth, he has commanded as follows: "Swear not at all; But let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these is of evil." And he thus persuaded us that it is right to worship God alone. "This is the greatest commandment, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve, with all thy heart, and with all thy strength, the Lord thy God which made thee." And when one came to him and said, "Good Master," he answered saying, "There is none good but God only, who made all things." But let those who are not found to be living as he commanded be assured, that they are not Christians at all; even though with the tongue they confess the doctrine of Christ; for he has declared that not the sayers only, but those who are also doers, shall be saved. His words are as follows: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my father which is in heaven: for whosoever heareth me, and doeth what I say, heareth him that sent me. For many will say unto me, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drunk in thy name, and done wonders? And then will I say unto them, Depart from me, ye that work iniquity. Then shall there be wailing and gnashing of teeth, when the righteous shall shine forth as the sun, but the wicked are sent into everlasting fire. For many shall come in my name, clothed outwardly in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; ye shall know them by their works. But every tree that bringeth not forth good

fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire." And we entreat that they who are not living according to his commandments, but who are only called Christians, may be punished also by you.

17. We everywhere, before all things, endeavor to pay tribute and taxes to those whom you appoint, as we were taught by him. For persons at that time came to him and asked him if it were lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar; and he answered: "Tell me whose image this coin bears? and they said, Cæsar's. And he answered them again, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Hence we render worship to God alone, but we serve you gladly in other things, acknowledging you to be kings and rulers of men, and praying that you may be found to unite to your imperial power, sound wisdom also. But if you disregard our prayers and public professions, we shall suffer no loss, since we believe—I should rather say, we are fully convinced—that each will suffer punishment by eternal fire, according to the merit of his actions; and that an account will be required of every one in proportion to the powers which he received from God, as Christ has declared in these words: "For unto whomsoever God hath given much, of him shall the more be required."

18. For look back to the end of each of the Emperors, how they died the death which is common to all, which, if it terminated in insensibility, would be a godsend to all the wicked. But since sensation remains in all men who have been in existence, and everlasting punishment is in store, do not hesitate to be convinced and believe that these things are true. And, indeed, let even necromancy, and the divinations by uncontaminated children, and the invocation of human souls, and those who are termed by the magicians senders of dreams and

familiars, together with the actions of those who are acquainted with these things, persuade you that souls are in a state of sensation even after death; and those who are seized and dashed down by the souls of the dead, whom all term demoniacs, and insane, and your oracles as you term them, of Amphilochnus, Dodona, Pytho, and others of the same kind, with the doctrine of your writers Empedocles and Pythagoras, Plato and Socrates, and the ditch of Homer, and the descent of Ulysses to see these [souls], and the testimony of these who have taught the same as these: in a like manner with [your reception of] whom, do you also receive us; for we believe in God no less than they, but more, for we expect to receive our bodies again, even after they are dead and cast into the earth, affirming that with God nothing is impossible.

19. [Possibility of the resurrection argued from the formation of the body from the human soul; containing also the following:] For we know that our Master Jesus Christ has said, "What is impossible with men is possible with God"; And "Fear not them that kill you, and after that have no power to do anything," he said, "but fear him who after he hath killed is able to cast both soul and body into Gehenna." This Gehenna is a place where all will be punished who live unrighteously, and who believe not that what God has taught through Christ will come to pass.

20. And the Sibyl, and Hystaspes, have said that there should be a dissolution of things corruptible by fire. And those philosophers who are termed Stoics teach that God himself shall be resolved into fire, and say that again, after this change, the world shall be formed anew; but we know that God, the Creator of all things, is superior to the things that are to be changed. If therefore we assert on certain points things like those poets

and philosophers whom you honor, but speak on others more convincingly and divinely than they, and if we only have proof, why are we thus unjustly hated beyond all? For in our assertion that all things were ordered and created by God, we are found to speak the language of Plato, and in our opinion that there will be a conflagration, we use that of the Stoics; but in our doctrine that the souls of the wicked will be punished, and are in a state of sensation after death, while those of the righteous are freed from torment and remain in bliss, we teach like the poets and philosophers. In denying that we ought to worship the work of men's hands, we agree with Menander the comedian, and others of his opinion; for they have said that the workman is greater than his work.

21. [Analogies to the history of Christ in what is believed of certain of the gods.]

22. But the Son of God, who is called Jesus, even if only a man in common with others, is worthy for his wisdom of being called the Son of God: for all your writers term God the Father both of men and of gods. And if we affirm that the Word of God was begotten of God even in a peculiar manner, and beyond the ordinary generation, as I have already said, let this be common to you who affirm Hermes to be the messenger-word from God. And should any object that he [Christ] was crucified, the fact is that this was also common to the fore-mentioned sons of Jupiter of yours, who underwent suffering. For in their case the sufferings of death are not recorded to have been similar, but different; so that he appears not to be behind them even in his peculiar manner of suffering; nay, I will prove him superior, as I have undertaken to do in the previous part of my defense; or rather it is already proved; for he who is the superior shows it by his actions. But if we affirm that he was born of a

virgin, you also may take this as held in common of Perseus. And when we declare that he made the lame, paralytic, and blind from their birth whole, and that he raised the dead to life, even the like actions to those which are said to have been done by Æsculapius may we be thought to assert of him.

23. And that this also may be made plain to you (1), that whatever things we assert, having learnt them from Christ and the prophets who preceded him, are alone true, and more ancient than all writers; and that not because we say the same as they, we claim to be believed, but because we state the truth; and (2), [that] Jesus Christ alone is properly the Son of God, as being his Word and First-begotten, and Power, and that being made man by his will, he taught us these doctrines for the renewal and restoration of mankind; and (3), [that] before he was born as a man among men, certain men, at the instigation of the before-mentioned demons, by the instrumentality of the poets, recounted as facts what they [really] spoke as myth-makers, in the same way as they have fabricated the charges of impious and abominable deeds that are brought against us, and of which they have neither witness nor proof—I shall produce the following arguments.

24. [First, Christians alone are persecuted for the name of Christ, while others may worship every variety of gods.]

25. [Secondly, Christians have abandoned these false gods.]

26. Thirdly, after the ascension of Christ into heaven, the devils put forward certain men who styled themselves gods, who not only were not persecuted by you, but were even deemed worthy of honors. There was Simon of Samaria, a native of a village called Gitto, who in the time of Claudius Cæsar, through the craft of the devils working by

his means, performed acts of magic, and was held in your royal city of Rome to be a god, and was honored by you with a statue like a god, which statue was raised on the river Tiber, between the two bridges, bearing this inscription in the Roman language, "To Simon the holy god." And almost all the natives of Samaria, with a few of other nations, confessing him to be the first god, worship him; and a certain Helena, who traveled about with him at that time, and had formerly exposed herself in the stews, they term the first idea generated from him. I know, too, that one Menander, another Samaritan of the village of Capparatea, and a disciple of Simon, was also influenced by devils, and when in Antioch he deceived many by means of his magic; and he even persuaded his followers that they should never die, which some of his disciples still believe. And there is a Marcion of Pontus, who is even now teaching his disciples to believe in another and greater god than the Creator; who, by the assistance of devils, has made many of every nation utter blasphemies, denying the Creator of this universe to be God, and causing them to confess another, who as being a greater god has done greater things than he. All who come of these are, as I have said, called Christians; just as those who do not agree with the philosophers in their doctrines, yet bear the common title which is derived from philosophy. Whether or not these people commit those shameful and fabulous actions—the putting out the lights, indulging in promiscuous intercourse, and eating human flesh I know not; but that they are not persecuted and put to death by you, at least for their opinions, I do know. I have by me, however, a treatise composed against all the heresies that have existed, which, if you wish to peruse it, I will present to you.

27. [Wickedness and sad results of exposing children.]

28. For with us the prince of the evil spirits is called a serpent, and Satan, and the devil, as you may learn even from an examination of our writings; who, Christ has foretold, will be sent into fire with his host, and the men who are his followers, there to be tormented to an endless eternity. For the delay of God in not yet having brought this to pass is for the sake of the human race; for he foreknows that some will be saved by repentance, some even that are not yet perhaps born. In the beginning indeed he made man with understanding, and with the power of choosing the truth, and of acting uprightly, in order that all men might be without excuse before him, for they were created with reason and contemplation. If, therefore, any one shall not believe that God regards these things, or conclude indirectly that he has no existence, or affirm that he is, but takes pleasure in evil, or that he resembles a stone, and that neither virtue nor vice is anything, but men consider them to be good or bad in opinion only, this is the greatest impiety and injustice.

29. And again [we are taught not to expose children] lest any one of them may not be found, but may perish, and we be homicides. But we either do not marry at first, unless to bring up children; or, declining it, we live in continence. And to prove to you that promiscuous connection is not a mystery of ours, one of our number presented a petition to Felix, the Prefect of Alexandria, to entreat permission to be made an eunuch by a surgeon; for, without the sanction of that officer, the surgeons of the place said that they were prohibited from performing the operation. And when Felix would by no means consent to sign his petition, the young man remained single, and was satisfied with



his own conscience, and the conscience of those who were of the same mind with himself. And I do not think it irrelevant to allude in this place even to Antinoüs, who is lately dead, whom all were eager with fear to worship as a god, although they knew both who he was and what was his origin.

30. But lest any should ask us, in objection, what prevents him whom we call Christ from being a man, of men, who performed what we term miracles by magic craft, and therefore appeared to be the Son of God, I will now offer my proof, not trusting to the words of those who affirm these things, but necessarily believing those who foretold what should happen before it came to pass; for we see with our very eyes that events have happened, and are happening, as was foretold; and this will, I think, appear even to you the greatest and truest proof.

31. There were then certain persons among the Jews, who were prophets of God, by whom the Spirit of prophecy foretold events that were about to happen, before they came to pass; and the prophecies of these persons the King of Judah for the time being acquired and took care of, as they were spoken, when uttered prophetically in their own Hebrew language, and arranged in books by the prophets themselves. But when Ptolemy, King of Egypt, was forming his library, and endeavoring to collect the works of every author, he heard also about these prophetic writings, and sent to Herod, who was then King of the Jews, entreating that the books of the prophecies might be transmitted to him. And Herod the king sent them written in their Hebrew language mentioned before. But when their contents were not understood by the Egyptians, he sent a second time to request the presence of persons to translate them into Greek. When this was done, the books remained in the possession

of the Egyptians even to the present time, and they are in the hands of all the Jews throughout the world; who, although reading them, do not understand what is said in them, but consider us as their enemies and opponents, killing and ill-treating us, as you do, whenever they have the power, as you may well believe: for even in the late Jewish war, Barcochebas, the ringleader of the Jewish revolt, commanded that Christians alone should be dragged to cruel torture, unless they would deny Jesus to be Christ and blaspheme him. And we find it foretold in the books of the prophets that Jesus our Christ should come, born of a virgin, and grow to manhood, and heal every disease and every malady, and raise the dead, and be envied and unrecognized and crucified, and should die, and rise again and go up to heaven, and should both be, and be called, the Son of God; and that certain persons should be sent by him into every nation of men to proclaim these facts, and that rather the men of Gentile race should believe in him. And this was foretold before his coming; at first, five thousand years; then, three thousand; then, two thousand; then, one thousand; and, lastly, eight hundred; for, according to the succession of generations, other and yet other prophets arose.

32. Moses then, in truth, who was the first of the prophets, spoke in these very words: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until he come for whom it is in store; and he shall be the desire of the nations, binding his foal to the vine, and washing his robe in the blood of the grape." It is your duty to inquire with accuracy and learn until whose time there was a ruler and king among the Jews peculiar to themselves. [This was] until the appearance of Jesus Christ our Teacher, and the Expounder of those prophecies which were unknown, as was fore-

told by the divine and holy spirit of prophecy through Moses: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, until he come for whom the kingdom is in store." For Judah was the forefather of the Jews, and it is from him that they derive the title of Jews; and you, since his (Christ's) appearance, have ruled also over the Jews, and held possession of their whole country. But the words, "He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles," signify that men from all nations should look for his coming again, as you yourselves may see and be convinced by the facts: for from all nations men look for him who was crucified in Judea, after whom the land of the Jews was at once delivered into your hands as a spoil of war. And the expression, "Binding his foal to the vine, and washing his robe in the blood of the grape," was a symbol significative of the events that were to happen to Christ, and of the works that should be performed by him. For the foal of an ass stood at the entrance of a village bound to a vine, and he commanded his disciples to bring it to him; and when it was brought, he mounted and sat upon it, and entered into Jerusalem, where was the chief temple of the Jews, which was subsequently destroyed by you; and after this he was crucified, that the rest of the prophecy might be fulfilled. For the words "Washing his robe in the blood of the grape" were prophetic of the passion which he was to undergo, cleansing by his blood those who believed on him. For that which the Divine Spirit terms by the prophet his robe are those who believe in him, in whom dwells that seed which is from God, namely, the Word. And what is called the blood of the grape, signifies that he who should appear would have blood, but not of human seed, but of Divine power. For the first Power after God the Father and Lord of all things, even his Son, is the Word, who took flesh

and was made man, in the manner which shall be described hereafter. For as man made not the blood of the grape, but God, so also this blood is declared to have been not of human seed, but of the power of God, as aforesaid. And Isaiah, also another prophet, declaring the same things in other words, speaks thus: "A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a flower shall grow out of the root of Jesse; and in his arm shall the nations trust." A star of light has arisen, and a flower has sprung up from the root of Jesse, this the Christ. For of a virgin who was of the seed of Jacob the father of Judah, whom we have shown to be the father of the Jews, through the power of God was he born, and Jesse was his forefather according to this prophecy, and he was the son of Jacob and Judah, according to the succession of generation.

33. And again, hear how he was foretold in express terms by Isaiah, as about to be born of a virgin. It is spoken thus: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and they shall say of his name, God with us." For the things that are considered to be incredible and impossible with men, the same has God declared beforehand by the Spirit of prophecy to be about to come to pass; that when they have come to pass, they should not be disbelieved, but from having been foretold should be believed. But lest any, not understanding the prophecy which I have cited, should accuse us of saying the same things as we have laid to the charge of the poets, who say that for the sake of sensual gratifications Jupiter formed a union with women, I will endeavor to explain its expressions. The words then, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive," signify that the virgin shall conceive without intercourse. For, if she had intercourse with any one whomsoever, she was no longer a virgin; but the power of God coming upon the virgin overshadow-

owed her, and caused her, being a virgin, to conceive. And the angel of God, who was sent to this same virgin at that time, brought her good tidings, saying, "Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb of the Holy Ghost, and shalt bring forth a Son, and he shall be called the Son of the Most High; and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins," as they who have related all the things about our Saviour Jesus Christ taught; whom we believe, for by the forementioned Isaiah also the Spirit of prophecy declared that he should be born as I have previously stated. It is right then to conceive the Spirit, and the power which is from God, to be nothing other than the Word, who is also the first-born of God, as Moses the forementioned prophet has declared. And this, when it came upon the virgin and overshadowed her, not by intercourse, but by power, made her pregnant. But the name Jesus in the Hebrew language means *Σωτήρ* (Saviour) in the Greek. Hence also the angel said to the virgin, "And thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins." But that the prophets are inspired by no other than the Divine Word even you, as I think, will admit.

34. And hear in what part of the world he was to be born, as another prophet, Micah, declared. And thus he spoke: "And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah, for out of thee shall come forth a Governor, who shall feed my people." Now this is a certain village in the country of the Jews, thirty-five stadia distant from Jerusalem, in which Jesus Christ was born; as you may also learn from the lists of the taxing, which was made in the time of Cyrenius, the first governor of yours in Judea.

35. And that Christ, after his birth, should be unknown to other men until he was grown to man's

estate, which also came to pass, hear what was foretold of this. The words are as follows: "A child is born to us, and a young man is given to us, whose government is upon his shoulders," which is significant of the power of the cross; to which, when crucified, he applied his shoulders, as shall be shown more clearly in the course of my explanation. And again the same prophet Isaiah, who was inspired by the prophetic Spirit, says: "I have stretched out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people, to those who walk in a way that is not good. They ask me now for judgment, and presume to draw nigh to God." And again in other words, by another prophet, he says: "They pierced my hands and my feet, and cast lots upon my garments." Yet David, the king and prophet, who uttered these words, underwent none of these things; but Jesus Christ stretched out his hands, and was crucified by the Jews, who contradicted him and denied him to be the Christ. For, indeed, as the prophet said, they mocked him, and set him on the judgment-seat, and said, Judge us. But the words, "They pierced my hands and my feet," are a description of the nails that were fixed in his hands and his feet on the cross. And after he was crucified, those who crucified him cast lots for his garments and divided them among themselves. And that these things were so, you may learn from the Acts which were recorded under Pontius Pilate. And that he was expressly foretold as about to enter into Jerusalem, sitting on the foal of an ass, I will prove by the words of the prophecy of another prophet, Zephaniah. They are these: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; proclaim it, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy King cometh to thee lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass."

36. But when you hear the words of the proph-

ets spoken as by some person, you should not suppose them to be spoken by those who are inspired, but by that Divine Word who moves them. For at one time he declares as it were prophetically what is to come to pass; at another, he speaks as from the person of God, the Lord and Father of all things; at another, as from the person of Christ; at another, as from the person of the people answering the Lord or his Father; such as you may see even in your own writers, some one person being the writer of the whole, but introducing the persons who speak. This the Jews, who have the writings of the prophets, not understanding, acknowledged not Christ even when he came; but even hate us who affirm that he has come, and who prove that as was foretold he was crucified by them.

37. [Utterances of the Father. Citations from Isa. i. 3, 4; lxvi. 1; i. 11-15; lviii. 6.]

38. [Utterances of the Son. Citations from Isa. lxxv. 2; l. 6; Ps. xxii. 16, 18; iii. 5; xxii. 7.]

39. But when, as prophesying what is about to come to pass, the Holy Ghost speaks, his words are as follows: "For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; and nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." And that it so came to pass you may believe. For from Jerusalem there went out into the world twelve men in number, and they obscure persons, and unskilled in speaking; but through the power of God they declared to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach all men the word of God; and we, who were formerly murderers of each other, not only make no war on our enemies, but, to avoid

even lying or deceiving those who examine us, we willingly confess Christ and die. For it were possible that what is said,

“ My tongue has sworn it, but my mind’s unsworn,”

we should do in this case. For it would be ridiculous that the soldiers who are mustered and enrolled by you should prefer even to their own life, their parents, their country, and all their kindred, their allegiance to you, although you are unable to give them any incorruptible reward; but that we, enamored of incorruptibility, should not endure all things, in order to receive the rewards we long for, from him who is able to give them.

40. Hear also how it was foretold of those who preached his doctrine and proclaimed his appearance, the beforementioned prophet and king speaking thus by the Spirit of prophecy: “ Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voices are not heard. Their voice has gone out through all the earth, their words to the end of the world. In the sun hath he placed his tabernacle, and he as a bridegroom that goeth out of his chamber shall rejoice as a giant to run his way.” Besides these, I think it right and applicable to mention some other prophecies which were uttered by the same David, from which you may learn how the Spirit of prophecy urges men to live, and how he spake of that conspiracy of Herod the King of the Jews, and of the Jews themselves, and of Pilate your procurator in their country, with his soldiers, against Christ, and that men from every nation should believe in him, and that God calls him his Son, and has declared that he will put all enemies under him; and how the devils, as far as they can, endeavor to escape the power of God the Father and Lord of all, and that of Christ himself;



and how God calls all men to repentance before the day of judgment comes. He speaks thus: [quotation of the first and second psalms].

41. And again, in another prophecy, the same Spirit of prophecy, declaring through the same David that after his crucifixion Christ should reign, spoke as follows: [citation of Ps. xcvi., closing with the words, "The Lord hath reigned from the tree," the last three of which Justin ("Dial. Tryph.") accuses the Jews of having erased from the text].

42. But when the Spirit of prophecy speaks of what is about to happen as having already come to pass, as may be seen even from the passages previously cited by me, in order that this may not afford any excuse to my readers, I will explain this also. The things that are assuredly known by him as about to take place, he foretells as having already been fulfilled. And that we ought thus to receive it, consider with earnest application of mind what is uttered. David spoke the before-mentioned passages about fifteen hundred years before Christ was incarnate and crucified; and no one of those who were before his time, by being crucified, brought joy to the Gentiles; nor did any of those who were after him. But our Jesus Christ, being crucified and dying, rose again, and reigned, ascending into heaven; and, from the tidings which were proclaimed by him through the apostles in all nations, is the joy of those who look for the incorruptibility which is promised by him.

43. [Men, unlike irrational creatures, are free and responsible.]

44. [Having cited Deut. xxx. 15, 19, and Isa. i. 16-20, to prove that the prophets recognized men's responsibility, he says:] So also Plato, in his words, "The blame is his who chooses, but God is without blame," took his saying from Moses the prophet. For Moses was before all the writers of Greece.

And in all that both philosophers and poets have said about the immortality of the soul, or the punishments after death, or the contemplation of celestial subjects, and the like doctrines, they have taken their suggestions from the prophets, so as to be able to understand and explain those matters. Hence with all there appear to be seeds of truth, but they are proved to have understood them inaccurately, when they speak in contradiction of themselves. So that when we say that future events have been foretold, we do not assert that they came to pass by any compulsion of destiny, but that God, foreknowing what all men would do, and determining with himself that every man should be rewarded according to the worth of his actions, foretells by the Spirit of prophecy that men should receive even from him recompense in proportion to the worth of their works; always urging the human race to renewed exertion and recollection, and showing that he has a care of it, and takes thought for it. But through the agency of evil demons death was proclaimed against those who read the books of Hystaspes, or the Sibyl, or the prophets, that they might through fear turn their readers from receiving the knowledge of good, and keep them slaves to themselves; which in the end they were not able to accomplish. For we not only read them without fear, but also, as you see, offer them to you for inspection; knowing that they will appear well-pleasing to all. And if we convince even a few, we shall gain the greatest rewards, for, like good husbandmen, we shall receive the recompense from the Lord.

45. That God the Father of all things would bring Christ to heaven, after he rose from the dead, and keep him there until he smote the demons his enemies, and the number of those who are foreknown by him as being good and full of virtue should be accomplished, for whom he delays the

consummation, hear the words of the prophet David. They are as follows: [citation of Ps. cx. 1-3]. The words then, "He will send to thee the rod of power out of Jerusalem," are presignificant of that powerful doctrine which his apostles went out from Jerusalem and preached everywhere; and, although death is decreed against those who teach, or in any way confess, the name of Christ, we everywhere both embrace and teach it. And if you also should read these words as enemies, you can do no more, as I have already said, than put us to death, which to us indeed involves no loss, but to you, and to all who persecute us unjustly, and do not repent, brings eternal punishment by fire.

46. But lest any should unreasonably urge, to turn men away from our doctrines, that we assert Christ to have been born one hundred and fifty years ago, under Cyrenius, and to have taught under Pontius Pilate what we long afterward affirm that he did teach; and should urge it against us as if all men who were born before him were irresponsible, I will, by anticipation, answer this difficulty. We are taught that Christ is the first-born of God, and we have shown above that he is the Word, of whom the whole human race are partakers. And those who lived according to reason are Christians, even though accounted atheists, such as, among the Greeks, Socrates and Heraclitus and those who resembled them, and of the barbarians Abraham, and Ananias, and Azarias, and Misael, and Elias, and many others, from going through the list of whose actions or names, knowing that it would be tedious, I now beg to be excused. So also they who have been before him and lived without reason were worthless, and enemies to Christ, and murderers of those who governed their lives by reason; but they who lived and now live in accordance with it are Christians, and are fearless and tranquil. But for

what reason, through the power of the Word, according to the will of God, the Father and Lord of all things, he was born as man of a virgin, and was called Jesus, and was crucified, and died, and rose again, and went up into heaven, from all that I have said already at such length, a man of understanding will be able to comprehend. But as the discussion of the proof is not necessary now, I will pass on, for the present, to those proofs which are pressing.

47. That the land of the Jews, then, was to be laid waste, hear what was said by the Spirit of prophecy. His words were uttered as in the person of the people wondering at what had been done. They are as follows: [citation of Is. lxiv. 10-12]. And that Jerusalem was laid waste, as it was foretold should come to pass, you know. Of this desolation, and of none of its people being permitted to inhabit it, the prophet Isaiah spoke thus: "Their country is desolate, their enemies devour it in their presence, and there shall not be one of them to dwell in it"; and that it is guarded by you to prevent any one from dwelling in it, and that death is decreed against a Jew who is detected in entering it, you know well.

48. And that it was foretold that our Christ should heal all diseases, and raise the dead, hear what was said. It is as follows: [citation of Isa. xxxv. 5, 6.]. That he performed these things you may easily be satisfied, from the Acts of Pontius Pilate. And how it was foretold by the Spirit of prophecy that both he and those who trusted in him should lose their lives, hear what was said by Isaiah. It is this: [Isa. lvii. 1, 2].

49. And again, [hear] how it was said by the same Isaiah that the people of the Gentiles who did not look for him should worship him, but that the Jews who were always looking for him should not ac-

knowledge him when he came. His words were spoken as in the person of Christ himself. They are these: [quotation of Isa. lxx. 1-3]. For the Jews who had the prophecies, and always looked for Christ to come, knew him not; and not only so, but even ill-treated him; while the Gentiles, who never heard any thing about Christ until the apostles went out from Jerusalem, and preached the things concerning him, and gave them the prophecies, were filled with joy and faith, and put away their idols, and dedicated themselves to the unbegotten God, through Christ. But that these infamous things which were to be spoken against those who confess Christ were foreknown, and that they who slandered him, and who said that it was well to keep the ancient customs, were to be miserable, hear what is briefly said by Isaiah. It is this: "Woe unto those who call sweet bitter and bitter sweet."

50. But that when he had become man for our sakes, he endured to suffer and be dishonored, and that he shall come again with glory, hear the prophecies which were uttered on this subject. They are as follows: [quotation of Isa. liii. 12; lii. 13-15; liii. 1-8]. After his crucifixion, then, even they that were acquainted with him all denied and forsook him; but afterward, when he rose from the dead, and was seen by them, and taught them to read the prophecies in which all these things were foretold as about to happen, and when they had seen him go up into heaven, and had believed, and received power from thence, which was sent them from him, they went forth to the whole race of men, and taught these things, and received the name of apostles.

51. And further, to bear witness to us that he who suffered those things had a generation that could not be declared, and is King over his enemies, the Spirit of prophecy spoke thus: [quotation of

Isa. liii. 8 to end]. And hear how he was to go up into heaven as was prophesied. It was spoken thus: [citation of Ps. xxiv. 7, 8]. And how he was to come again from heaven in glory, hear what was said to this purport by the prophet Jeremiah. His words are as follows: "Behold, one like the Son of man cometh upon the clouds of heaven, and his angels with him."

52. [Certain fulfillment of the prophecy of a second advent of Christ. Citations from Ezek. xxxvii. 7; Isa. xlv. 23; lxvi. 24; Zech. ii. 6; xii. 11; Joel ii. 13; Isa. lxiii. 17; lxiv. 11.]

53. [Summary of the prophecies: Judea to be desolated; Gentiles to be converted, more in numbers than the Jews. Quotations of Isa. liv. 1; i. 9; Jer. ix. 26.]

54. [Heathen mythology arose from an imperfect imitation by demons of the truths of prophecy, they thinking thereby to prejudice men against the story of Christ. Citations of Gen. xlix. 10, 11; Ps. xix. 5.]

55. But in no case, and upon none of those who are called the sons of Jupiter, did they imitate the being crucified; for it did not occur to them, everything which was spoken in relation to this having been uttered symbolically, as I have already said. This, as the prophet foretold, is the greatest mark of his strength and power, as is also shown by the things which fall under our observation; for consider all the things in the world, whether without this form there is any administration, or any community possible to be maintained. The sea can not be plowed except that trophy which is called a sail abide safe in the ship; the earth is not tilled without it; diggers, handicraftsmen also, do not perform their task unless by tools bearing this shape. And the figure of man differs from that of the unreasoning brutes only in this, that he is up-

right, and has power to stretch out his hands; and has in his face extended from his forehead what is called his nose, through which the animal draws his breath, and which displays nothing else than the figure of the cross. And it is thus spoken by the prophet: "The breath before our face is Christ the Lord." And your symbols, those upon the banners and trophies with which your processions are universally made, display the power of this form; and by these you show the signs of your rule and authority, even if you do so without knowing what you do. And you consecrate the images of your emperors, on their demise, by this form; and by inscription you term them gods. And since we have urged you as far as our power admits, by reason, and this conspicuous figure, we know that henceforth we are blameless, even if you believe not; for our part is now done and perfected.

56. [Demons still mislead men through pretenders like Simon.]

57. [They cause us to be persecuted.]

58. [They also raise up heretics like Marcion.]

59. And that you may learn that Plato borrowed from our teachers (I mean the account which is given by the prophets) when he said that God altered shapeless matter, and created the world, hear how the same things are expressly taught by Moses, who has been mentioned before as the first Prophet, and older than the Greek writers, by whom the Spirit of prophecy, declaring how, and from what, God in the beginning created the world, spoke thus: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. And the earth was invisible and unfurnished, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved over the waters. And God said: Let there be light; and it was so." So that both Plato, and those who agree with him, and we ourselves, have learned, and you may be persuaded, that

by the Word of God the whole world was created out of substance which was described before by Moses. That too which the poets call Erebus, we know to have been previously mentioned by Moses.

60. So that which is spoken physiologically by Plato in his *Timæus* about the son of God, when he says "He placed him in the universe after the manner of the letter  $\chi$ ," he likewise borrowed from Moses. For it is related in the Mosaic writings that at the same time when the Israelites went out of Egypt, and were in the desert, venomous beasts, vipers, and asps, and every kind of serpents, assailed them, and destroyed the people; on which Moses, from the inspiration and direction communicated from God, took brass, and formed it into the shape of a cross, and placed it on the holy tabernacle, and said to the people, "If you look upon that figure and believe, you shall be saved." And when this was done, he related that the serpents died, and recorded that by this means the people escaped death.

Plato, then, read this; and not accurately knowing or perceiving that it was a figure of the cross, but seeing only the form of the letter  $\chi$ , he said that the power next to the first God was in the universe in the shape of an  $\chi$ . And his mention of a third is derived, as I have already said, from his reading the words of Moses, "The Spirit of God moved above the waters." For he gives the second place to the Word of God, who, he says, is placed after the manner of an  $\chi$  in the universe, and the third to the Spirit who is said to move above the water, saying, "The third about the third." And hear how the prophetic Spirit declared by Moses that there should be a conflagration. He spoke as follows: "An everlasting fire shall descend, and burn to the pit below." It is not then that we hold the same opinion as others, but that all men imitate



and repeat ours. For you may hear and learn these things among us, from those who do not even know the shape of their letters, but who are ignorant and rude in speech, though wise and faithful in mind, some too being blind or deprived of their eyes: thus you may perceive that these things have not been by human wisdom, but are uttered by the power of God.

61. How we dedicated ourselves to God, being new made through Christ, I will explain, lest, if I omit this, I appear to be cheating in my explanation. All, then, who are persuaded and believe that the things who are taught and affirmed by us are true; and who promise to be able to live accordingly, are taught to pray, and beg God with fasting to grant them forgiveness of their former sins; and we pray and fast with them. Then we bring them where there is water, and after the same manner of regeneration in which we also were regenerated ourselves, they are regenerated: for, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of all things, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, they then receive the washing of water. For Christ indeed said: "Except ye born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." And that it is impossible for those who are once born to enter into their mother's wombs, is plain to all. And it is declared by the prophet Isaiah, as I have already written, in what way those who have sinned, and who repent, shall escape their sins. It is said as follows: [quotation of Isa. i. 16-20]. And we have received the following reason from the apostles for so doing. Since we were ignorant of our first birth, and were born by necessity of the moist seed through the mutual union of our parents, and were brought up in evil customs and wicked training; in order that we might not remain the children of necessity and ignorance, but of choice and of knowl-

edge, and that we might obtain remission of the sins we had formerly committed : in the water there is called over him who chooses the new birth and repents of his sins, the name of God the Father and Lord of all things, and calling him by this name alone, we bring the person to be washed to the laver. For no one can declare the name of the ineffable God, but if any one presume to say that he has any, he commits an act of incurable madness. Now this washing is called illumination, because they who learn the meaning of these things are enlightened in their mind. And in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, who foretold by the prophets all these things about Jesus, does he who is enlightened receive his washing.

62. And the devils, hearing of this baptism which was taught by the prophet, instigate those who enter into their temples, and who are about to come before them, paying drink offerings and burnt offerings, also to sprinkle themselves ; and they cause men to go and wash their whole persons before they come to the temples where they are enshrined. Moreover, the command given by the priests to those who enter the temples and worship in them to put off their shoes the devils have learned and imitated from what happened to Moses, the prophet whom I have mentioned. For at the time when Moses was commanded to go down into Egypt, and bring out the people of Israel who were there, as he was feeding the sheep of his uncle on the mother's side in the land of Arabia, our Christ held converse with him in the shape of fire from a bush, and said, " Put off thy shoes and draw near and hear." And when he put off his shoes and drew near, he heard that he was to go down into Egypt, and bring out the people of Israel who were there. And he re-

ceived a mighty power from Christ, who spoke to him in the shape of fire, and he went down and led out the people, having wrought great and wonderful things; which if you wish, you may learn them accurately from his writings.

63. But all the Jews teach even now that the unnamed God spoke with Moses; whence the Spirit of prophecy, when blaming them by Isaiah, the before-mentioned prophet, spoke as I have already related: "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know me, my people hath not understood me." And Jesus the Christ, because the Jews knew not what the Father was and what the Son, upbraids them in like manner, and says: "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, nor the Son but the Father, and those to whom the Son will reveal him." But the Word of God is his Son, as I have already said. And he is called Angel and Apostle, for he declares all that ought to be known, and is sent to proclaim what is told, as indeed our Lord himself said: "He that heareth me heareth him that sent me." And this will be clear from the writings of Moses, in which it is said as follows: "And the Angel of God spake unto Moses in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush, and said, I AM THAT I AM, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, the God of thy fathers. Go down into Egypt, and bring up my people." And what followed you who wish may learn from them, for it is not possible to write all the events in this book. But thus much has been said to prove that Jesus, the Christ, is the Son and Apostle of God, being formerly the Word; and appearing at one time in the form of fire and at another in the image of incorporeal beings; but now, by the will of God, being made man for the human race. He endured also to suffer all that the devils caused to be inflicted on him by the senseless

Jews. Who, having it expressly said in the Mosaic writings, "And the Angel of God spake with Moses in a flame of fire in the bush, and said, I AM THAT I AM, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," affirms that it was the Father and Maker of all things who spoke thus. Hence also the Spirit of prophecy upbraids them as follows: "Israel hath not known me, my people hath not understood me." And again, Jesus, as we have shown, when with them, said, "No one knoweth the Father but the Son, nor the Son but the Father, and those to whom the Son will reveal him." The Jews then, always thinking that the Father of all things spoke to Moses, he who spoke to him being the Son of God, who is called both Angel and Apostle, are rightly upbraided both by the Spirit of prophecy and by Christ himself, as knowing neither the Father nor the Son. For they who say that the Son is the Father are proved neither to know the Father, nor that the Father of all things has a Son, who, being moreover the first-born Word of God, is also God. And formerly, through the shape of fire, and through an incorporeal image, he appeared to Moses and the other prophets; but now, in the time of your government, as I said before, he was made man of a virgin, according to the counsel of the Father, for the salvation of those who believed on him, and endured to be set at nought and to suffer, that by dying and rising again he might overcome death. But that which was spoken from the bush to Moses, "I AM THAT I AM, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, and the God of thy fathers," is significant that they though dead remain in existence, and are the men of this very Christ; for these are the first of all men who were employed in the search after God, Abraham the father of Isaac, and Isaac the father of Jacob, as Moses also wrote.

64. And that the devils incited them to place the image of her who is called Proserpine at the fountains of waters, in imitation of what was spoken by Moses, you may perceive from what has been already said. For Moses declared, as I have previously written, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth; and the earth was invisible and unformed, and the Spirit of God moved upon the waters." In imitation then of the Spirit of God, which was said to be borne upon the water, they declared that Proserpine was the daughter of Jupiter. Minerva, too, in like manner, they craftily affirmed to be the daughter of Jupiter, not from sexual union; but when they knew that God, by his Word, conceived and made the world, they described Minerva as the first conception: which we consider to be most ridiculous, to adduce the female form as the image of the conception. And in like manner their actions convict the others who are called sons of Jupiter.

65. But after thus washing him who has professed, and given his assent, we bring him to those who are called brethren, where they are assembled together to offer prayers in common both for ourselves and for the person who has received illumination, and all others everywhere, with all our hearts, that we might be vouchsafed, now we have learnt the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, that we may obtain everlasting salvation. We salute one another with a kiss when we have concluded the prayers. Then is brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of water and wine, which he receives, and offers up praise and glory to the Father of all things, through the name of his Son and of the Holy Ghost, and he returns thanks at length for our being vouchsafed these things by him; when he has concluded the prayers and

thanksgivings, all the people who are present express their assent by saying Amen. This word, Amen, means in the Hebrew language, so let it be. And when the president has celebrated the eucharist, and all the people have assented, they whom we call deacons give to each of those who are present a portion of the eucharistic bread, and wine and water, and carry them to those who are absent.

66. And the food is called by us eucharist, of which no one is allowed to partake but he who believes the truth of our doctrines, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the forgiveness of sins and to regeneration, and who so lives as Christ has directed. For we do not receive them as ordinary food or ordinary drink ; but as by the word of God Jesus Christ our Saviour was made flesh, and took upon him both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also the food which was blessed by the prayer of the word which proceeded from him, and from which our flesh and blood, by transmutation, receive nourishment, is, we are taught, both the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the apostles, in the records which they made, and which are called gospels, have thus delivered to us what was commanded them ; that Jesus took bread, and gave thanks, and said, " This do in remembrance of me : this is my body ; and in like manner he took the cup, and blessed it, and said, This is my blood " ; and he gave it to them alone. The same thing in the mysteries of Mithra, also, the evil demons imitated, and commanded to be done ; for bread and a cup of water are placed in the mystic rites for one who is to be initiated, with the addition of certain words, as you know or may learn.

67. But we, after these things, henceforward always remind one another of them ; and those of us who have the means assist all who are in want ;

and we are always together. And in all our oblations we bless the Maker of all things, through his Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost. And on the day which is called Sunday there is an assembly in the same place of all who live in cities or in country districts; and the records of the apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read as long as we have time. Then the reader concludes, and the president verbally instructs and exhorts us to the imitation of these excellent things. Then we all rise together and offer up our prayers. And, as I said before, when we have concluded our prayer, bread is brought, and wine and water, and the president in like manner offers up prayers and thanksgivings with all his strength, and the people give their assent by saying Amen; and there is a distribution and a partaking by every one of the eucharistic elements, and to those who are not present they are sent by the hands of the deacons. And such as are in prosperous circumstances, and wish to do so, give what they will, each according to his choice; and what is collected is placed in the hands of the president, who assists the orphans, and widows, and such as through sickness or any other cause are in want; and to those who are in bonds, and to strangers from afar, and, in a word, to all who are in need, he is a protector. But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, when he changed the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead: for the day before that of Saturn he was crucified, and on the day after it, which is Sunday, he appeared to his apostles and disciples, and taught them these things which we have given to you also for your consideration.

68. If, then, these things appear to you to have reason and truth, respect them; but if they seem

to be frivolous, hold them in contempt as frivolities; and do not decree death against those who have done no wrong, as if they were enemies. For we forewarn you that you shall not escape the future judgment of God, if you continue in your injustice; and we will exclaim, Let what is pleasing to God be done. And although, from the letter of the greatest and most illustrious Emperor Adrian your father, we might entreat you to command that judgment should be done according to our petition, yet it is not on the ground of Adrian's decision that we the rather urged this; but we have made our appeal and exposition, because we know that we ask what is just. I have, however, subjoined a copy of Adrian's letter that you may know that we speak truth in this also. The copy is as follows:

*Epistle of Adrian in behalf of the Christians.*

I have received the letter addressed to me by your predecessor Serenius Granianus, a most illustrious man; and this communication I am unwilling to pass over in silence, lest innocent persons be disturbed, and occasion be given to the informers for practicing villainy. Accordingly, if the inhabitants of your province will so far sustain this petition of theirs as to accuse the Christians in some court of law, I do not prohibit them from doing so; but I will not suffer them to make use of mere entreaties and outcries. For it is far more just, if any one desires to make an accusation, that you give judgment upon it. If, therefore, any one makes the accusation, and furnishes proof that the said men do anything contrary to the laws, you shall adjudge punishments in proportion to the offenses. And this, by Hercules, you shall give special heed to, that if any man shall, through mere calumny, bring an accusation against any of these persons, you shall award to him more severe punishments in proportion to his wickedness.



## SYNOPSIS OF DIALOGUE WITH TRYPHO.

Walking in the Xystus (at Ephesus), Justin is addressed by Trypho, a Jew, who, emboldened by Justin's dress, asks for instruction for himself and friends. J.—“And in what would you be profited by philosophy so much as by your own lawgiver and the prophets?” T.—“Do not the philosophers turn every discourse on God?” Justin replies that, while granting to God a general care of the universe, most philosophers deny his attention to individuals, and so take license for their conduct. Others, claiming that the soul is both immortal and insensible to suffering, teach that it needs nothing from God. Asked for his own opinion, he says that he has studied with the Stoics, the Peripatetics, and the Platonists; that Platonism had seemed most satisfactory to him; but that once, while meditating near the seashore, a venerable man had appeared and, in a learned conversation, shown him the insufficiency of his philosophy, and had then told him of the prophets, who, being filled with the Holy Ghost, had revealed divine truth authoritatively, glorifying the God and Father of all things, and proclaiming his Son, the Christ. The old man had disappeared, “but straightway,” says Justin, “a flame was kindled in my soul; and a love of the prophets, and of those men who are friends of Christ, possessed me; and while revolving his words in my mind, I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable.” Assuring Trypho that he too may find happiness in Christ, the Jew replies that it is better to be circumcised and observe the law. Justin in reply proposes to prove that Christians have not believed empty fables, “but words filled with the Spirit of God and big

with power." Some of his companions jeer, but Trypho seats himself respectfully to hear the argument. His opposition to Christians, he says, is simply that they do not observe the law; he does not share the vulgar belief in their immorality.

Justin accordingly begins by declaring that the law is abrogated by the new covenant made in Christ, adducing Scripture to prove that such a new and universal law should succeed. This law the Jews despise, but Isaiah teaches that sin is to be cleansed, not by the blood of sacrifices, but by the blood of Christ (Isa. liii.). Baptism in Christ alone purifies, as says Isaiah, who also describes the true fasting. Circumcision was given to the Jews to designate them for persecution for their treatment of Christ. The Jews, spreading calumnies everywhere against Christians, are responsible both for their own and for others' sins. Christians would observe the law if they did not know why it was given. The patriarchs were acceptable to God without circumcision; thus God, in enjoining sacrifices, and the observance of sabbaths, and the choice of meats, had accommodated himself to an unrighteous nation, but had not made such observances works of righteousness. If there was no need of circumcision before Abraham, or of the keeping of sabbaths, etc., before Moses, there is no need now. But while the old circumcision is obsolete, Christ circumcises all who will.

Those who now say they are sons of Abraham, continues Justin, are represented by Isaiah as crying out to God for an inheritance. To this remark Trypho rejoins, "What is this you say? that none of us shall inherit anything in the holy mountain of God?" J.—"I do not say so, but those who persecute Christ, if they do not repent, shall not inherit." Gentiles who believe shall inherit along with patriarchs and prophets and the just descend-

ants of Jacob (Isa. lxii. and lxiii.). T.—“Why do you quote whatever you wish from the prophetic writings, but do not refer to those which command the observance of sabbaths? For Isaiah thus speaks: (Isa. lxviii. 13, 14). J.—The prophets did command like things with Moses, but only from the hardness of the peoples' hearts. Circumcision of the flesh avails nothing to Egyptians; but even Scythians having knowledge of Christ have a circumcision that avails. Those baptized of the Holy Ghost need no other rite.

Christians, says Justin, call upon God through Christ, at whose name demons are now overcome, and whose power at his advent in glory shall be incomparable (Dan. vii. 7-28). Trypho objects that Daniel describes Christ as glorious. Justin distinguishes two advents, one humble, one glorious, quoting Ps. cx. and lxxii., which, he argues, do not refer to Hezekiah and Solomon.

Trypho says that some who confess Jesus eat meat offered to idols. Justin replies that the existence of heretics confirms the prophecy of Christ concerning false apostles coming in his name. He also proves that Christ is called Lord of hosts and should be worshiped. The Jews hate Christians, because these truths convict them of hardness of heart.

Trypho, allowing that Christ must suffer, calls for proof of his identity with Jesus. Justin first alludes to certain figures, and then instances Jesus's birth from a virgin.

To questions Justin replies that those who kept the law before Christ were saved thereby; but not so those who now keep the law. Still, in his opinion, men are at liberty, if they so desire, to keep the law, though some say otherwise.

Resuming the argument, Justin says that Jesus may be proved the Christ without proving that he

preëxisted as God, as indeed some (the Ebionites) hold. To the suggestion that Elijah must precede the Christ, Justin says he will in person precede the second coming; but that his spirit, in the person of John, had heralded the first coming. That John was Christ's precursor is shown from Isaiah. Jacob and Zechariah predicted that Christ should ride upon an ass. The "blood of the grape," meaning the blood of Christ, proves that he was not begotten of man, since the blood of the vine is from God.

Trypho asks that any God but God the Father may, without metaphor, be shown him from Scripture. Justin proves that God who appeared to Abraham is distinguished from God the Father; also God who appeared to Jacob and to Moses. He then adduces the "Wisdom" begotten of the Father, and the words, "Let us make man." Trypho admits the proof, but says he does not need Christ. Justin, adducing further proof, explains the passage, "my glory will I not give to another." He proves that Christ was born of a virgin, whereupon Trypho compares him with Perseus. Justin convicts him of bad faith, and shows how the devil had invented fables about Bacchus, Hercules, and Æsculapius; also that the mysteries of Mithras are distorted from prophecies. The Jews have cut out and misinterpreted passages of the version of the Septuagint. The name of God is shown from Exodus to be Jesus (Joshua), and the prophecy of Isaiah is shown to accord with Christ alone. Justin asserts, against Trypho, that the wicked angels revolted against God; and also maintains (saying, however, that some Christians do not) that Jerusalem will be rebuilt, and the saints shall reign there a thousand years, arguing this from Isaiah and the Apocalypse. The prophetic gifts of the Jews were transferred to Christians. After proving

further that Jesus is Christ the Lord, and enumerating various Old Testament figures of the wood of the cross, Justin explains the words "The Spirit of God shall rest on him," showing that Christ did not receive the Spirit on account of poverty. He notices the prefigurement of the cross of Christ in Scripture, and holds that the same kind of righteousness has always been taught, and is summed up in two precepts of Christ. Christ upon the cross took upon himself the curse due to us. He then examines Ps. xxii. at length, showing its reference to Christ. The resurrection of Christ also is typified in the history of Jonah. Micah's prediction of the conversion of the Gentiles is already in part fulfilled, and will be entirely fulfilled at the second advent. These two advents were symbolized by the two goats. Continuing, Justin adduces various symbols of the blood of Christ. Joshua, he says, is a figure of Christ. He claims that Zechariah's prediction suits Christians, and speaks of Malachi's prophecy concerning sacrifices. Christians are the holy people promised to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Judah. The belief of the Gentiles in Jesus proves him the Christ. Christians are the true Israel, the sons of God. He further explains the word Israel, and shows the various Old Testament names of Christ, who appeared as a person. Returning to the conversion of the Gentiles, he shows them to be more faithful than the Jews. He notices the power of Jesus's name in the Old Testament. The Jews are hard-hearted; nevertheless Christians pray for them. Leah was a type of the Jewish people, Rachel of the Christian church; Christ serves for both. The Jews, rejecting Christ, had rejected God. Justin exhorts his hearers to be converted. He shows Noah to have been a figure of Christ. In Christ all are free; but the Jews hope in vain for salvation. The

Jews are not excusable for crucifying Christ, as all men are free agents.

The conference thus ending, the Jews thank Justin and depart.

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## NOTICE OF THE MURATORIAN FRAGMENT.

THE earliest approach to a Scripture canon or list of the books of Scripture now extant is found in a celebrated Latin manuscript, discovered in the last century by Muratori, at the Ambrosian Library in Milan. This manuscript originally belonged to Columban's monastery at Bobbio, and dates from the seventh or the eighth century. The work is but a fragment, which begins in the midst of a sentence—the sentence following referring to Luke's Gospel—and ends abruptly. There is strong internal evidence that it was translated from the Greek, though some dissent from this view. Its authorship is unknown; but Muratori conjectured that it was by Caius of Rome, and Bunsen has confidently ascribed it to Hegesippus. Most scholars agree that it belongs to the second century, probably not later than A. D. 170, as is apparent from its reference to Pius of Rome as to a contemporary. A later date has been assigned by some, among them Donaldson, but their reasons are not conclusive.

Westcott judges the work to have been apologetical rather than historical, as it omits to refer to books which were certainly received at Rome in

the last quarter of the century; or that possibly it is a compilation of passages from a larger work.

The text is very imperfect, the reading in some passages being only conjectural. The translation here given has been amended by the text given in Westcott "On the Canon."

## THE MURATORIAN FRAGMENT.

. . . . at which he was present, and so he placed it. The third book of the Gospel according to Luke. Luke, that physician, after the ascension of Christ, when Paul had taken him along with him as a companion of his travels [or, "when Paul had taken him as assistant, since he was desirous of righteousness"], wrote it in his own name, as seemed good to him—notwithstanding he had not himself seen the Lord in the flesh—and according as he was able to understand the same: so he began to speak from the nativity of John. The fourth Gospel is that of John, one of the disciples. When his fellow disciples and overseers urged him, he said, "Fast ye together for me to-day for three days, and let us relate to each other the revelation which we receive." The same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that, while all looked over, John should write out all things in his own name. . . . And therefore, although various beginnings are presented by each book of the gospels, this makes no difference as respects the faith of believers, since all things in all are declared by the one guiding Spirit concerning the nativity, concerning the passion, concerning the resurrection, concerning his intercourse with his disciples, and concerning his two advents—the first, which has been despised in its humility; the second, which is to

be distinguished by regal power. . . . What wonder is it, then, that John should address each thing so uniformly in his epistles, saying, in regard to himself, "The things which we have seen with our eyes, and heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, these are the things which we have written"? For he professes himself not only a seer, but also a hearer and also a writer of all the wonderful works of the Lord in order. Now the Acts of all the Apostles were written in one book. Luke embraced in his work to the most excellent Theophilus only the things which were done in his presence; and this is plainly proved by his omission of all mention of the death of Peter and of the setting out of Paul from the city to Spain. . . . Then come the letters of Paul. The letters themselves declare to those who wish to know from what place or from what cause they were sent. First of all there was the letter to the Corinthians forbidding the schism of heresy; then that to the Galatians forbidding circumcision; and then he wrote more largely to the Romans, penetrating into the order of the Scriptures, and showing that Christ is the foundation of them, concerning each of which things we need to speak particularly; since the blessed apostle Paul himself, following the order of his predecessor John, writes only to seven churches by name in the following order: first to the Corinthians, second to the Ephesians, third to the Philippians, fourth to the Colossians, fifth to the Galatians, sixth to the Thessalonians, seventh to the Romans. But to the Corinthians and Thessalonians, though for rebuke he wrote twice, notwithstanding it is known that there is only one Church scattered over the whole earth; and John also, although in the Apocalypse he writes to seven churches, yet speaks to all. Moreover, one was dedicated to Philemon, and one to Titus, and two



to Timothy, in consideration of his love and affection for them, yet also in honor of the catholic church and the order of the Church discipline. There is one also in circulation addressed to the Laodiceans, and one to the Alexandrians forged in the name of Paul, bearing upon the heresy of Marcion, and many others which can not be received by the catholic church; for it does not suit to mix vinegar with honey. The letter of Judas also and the two letters of John above-mentioned are reckoned genuine in the catholic church. Also the Wisdom written by the friends of Solomon in his honor. We receive only the revelations of John and Peter, the latter of which some of our people do not wish to be read in the Church. Moreover, Hermas very lately in our times wrote the Pastor in the city of Rome, while his brother Pius sat as overseer in the chair of the church of the city of Rome; and it ought therefore indeed to be read, but it can never be publicly used in the Church, either among the prophets (the number being complete?) or among the apostles. Nor do we receive anything at all of Arsinous, or Valentinus, or Miltiades, who also wrote a new book of psalms for Marcion, along with Basilides, the Asiatic founder of the Cataphrygians.

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### MELITO.

MELITO, bishop of Sardis, was born early in the century, and lived until after A. D. 169. He claims our attention on account of his voluminous writings, the titles of which indicate to us the subjects engaging the thought of the Christians of his day.

His apology, already noticed, has been preserved to us in a Syriac translation. He also, as a Syriac translation of a list of his works tells us, wrote the following treatises: "On Easter two, and On Polity and On the Prophets; and another On the Church and another On the First Day of the Week; and again another On the Faith of Man; and another On his Formation; and again another On the Hearing of the Ear of Faith; and besides these, On the Soul and Body; and again On Baptism, and On the Truth, and On the Faith; and On the Birth of Christ, and On the Word of his Prophecy; and again On the Soul and on the Body; and another On the Love of Strangers, and On Satan, and On the Revelation of John; and again another On God who put on the Body." To this list Eusebius adds "The Key," of which it is claimed that we have a version in Latin. Excepting this work and the apology, we have only fragments of Melito's writings. One of these fragments, however, thought to belong to the work On Faith, is of great interest as furnishing an approach to a confession of faith of the church of that day.

#### EXTRACT FROM MELITO'S WORK ON FAITH.

We have made collections from the law and the prophets relating to those things which are declared concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, that we might prove to your love that he is the perfect Reason, the Word of God; who was begotten before the light; who was Creator together with the Father; who was the Fashioner of man; who was

all things in all; who among the patriarchs was Patriarch; who in the law was Law; among the priests, Chief Priest; among kings, Governor; among the prophets, Prophet; among the angels, Archangel; among voices, the Word; among spirits, Spirit; in the Father, the Son; in God, God, the King for ever and ever. For this is he who was Pilot to Noah; who conducted Abraham; who was bound with Isaac; who was in exile with Jacob; who was sold with Joseph; who was Captain with Moses; who was the Divider of the inheritance with Jesus the son of Nun; who in David and the prophets foretold his own sufferings; who was incarnate in the Virgin; who was born at Bethlehem; who was wrapped in swaddling-clothes in the manger; who was seen of the shepherds; who was glorified of the angels; who was worshiped by the Magi; who was pointed out by John; who assembled the apostles; who preached the kingdom; who healed the maimed; who gave light to the blind; who raised the dead; who appeared in the temple; who was not believed on by the people; who was betrayed by Judas; who was laid hold on by the priests; who was condemned by Pilate; who was pierced in the flesh; who was hanged upon the tree; who was buried in the earth; who rose from the dead; who appeared to the apostles; who ascended into heaven; who sitteth on the right hand of the Father; who is the Rest of those who are departed, the Recoverer of those who are lost, the Light of those who are in darkness, the Deliverer of those who are captives, the Guide of those who have gone astray, the Refuge of the afflicted, the Bridegroom of the Church, the Charioteer of the cherubim, the Captain of the angels, God who is of God, the Son who is of the Father, Jesus Christ, the King for ever and ever. Amen.

## ATHENAGORAS.

ALTHOUGH Athenagoras was the superior of all in his own age, in literary merit and in broad philosophic culture, we yet know but little of his life. One of our sources of information—the writings of Philip of Sida, who tells us that Athenagoras was the leader of the school at Alexandria in the reign of Hadrian and Antoninus—is not trustworthy. The only other source is the following inscription on the manuscripts of Athenagoras's "Apology": "The Embassy of Athenagoras the Athenian, a philosopher and a Christian, to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, Armeniaci, Sarmatici, and, what is greatest, philosophers." From this inscription, and from certain internal evidences, this "Embassy" is assigned to the close of A. D. 176 or the beginning of 177. Some think the work to have differed from the ordinary *apology* of that age in that, in the interval of peace in 177, Athenagoras actually went to Rome as a representative of the Christians, and in person presented his arguments before the emperor. The studied compliments of the address favor this supposition, and, as the only event in Athenagoras's life which can be traced even with probability, his admirers naturally fix upon it. Apart from this conjecture we only know that our author was an Athenian and a philosopher, and

that he flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Besides his scholarly apology—the best defense of the Christians in that age—we have a treatise by him “On the Resurrection of the Dead.” The thought of this work shows careful reflection, and is stated with philosophical precision. Scarcely a superfluous word is used, says Donaldson, while the language is beautiful and at times forcible. The treatise is thought to have been delivered before a company of philosophic friends. The arguments adduced are not from Scripture, but such as would emanate from a Christian *philosopher*. A noticeable feature of both treatises is their free reference to and use of the poets and philosophers. The latter are asserted to have mostly believed in the unity of God.

There are numerous manuscripts, of which the three most ancient and most valuable, dating from the tenth and thirteenth centuries, contain both the treatises.

The chapters here given have been corrected according to Professor Gildersleeve’s text.

CHAPTERS FROM THE EMBASSY ABOUT CHRISTIANS,  
BY ATHENAGORAS THE ATHENIAN: PHILOSOPHER  
AND CHRISTIAN.

To the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, conquerors of Armenia and Sarmatia, and more than all philosophers.

*Chapter 5.*—Poets and philosophers have not

been voted atheists for inquiring concerning God. Euripides, speaking of those who, according to popular preconception, are ignorantly called gods, says doubtfully :

“ If Zeus indeed does reign in heaven above,  
Not ever on one man should ills be sent.”

But speaking of him who is apprehended by the understanding according to knowledge, as mind has it, he gives his opinion decidedly, thus :

“ Seest thou on high him who, with humid arms,  
Clasps both the boundless ether and the earth?  
Him reckon Zeus, and him regard as God.”

For as to these (so-called gods) he neither saw any real existence, to which a name is usually assigned, underlying them (“ Zeus,” for instance : “ who Zeus is I know not, but by report ”), nor that any names were given to realities which actually do exist (for of what use are names to those who have no real existences underlying them?) But him [he did see] by means of his works, considering with an eye to things unseen the things which are manifest in air, in ether, on earth. Him, therefore, from whom proceed all created things, and by whose Spirit they are governed, he concluded to be God ; and Sophocles agrees with him when he says :

“ There is one God, in truth there is but one,  
Who made the heavens, and the broad earth beneath.”

[Euripides is speaking] of the nature of God, which fills his works with beauty, and teaching both where God must be, and that he must be One.

*Chapter 6.*—Philolaus, too, when he says that all things are included in God as in a stronghold, teaches that he is one, and that he is superior to matter. Lysis and Opsimus—the one defines God as an ineffable number, the other as the excess of the greatest number beyond that

which comes nearest to it. So then, since ten is the greatest number according to the Pythagoreans, being the Tetractys, and containing all the arithmetical and harmonic principles, and the nine stands next to it, God is a unit—that is, one. For the greatest number exceeds the next least by one. Then there are Plato and Aristotle—not that I am about to go through all that the philosophers have said about God, as if I wished to exhibit a complete summary of their opinions; for I know that, as you excel all men in intelligence and in the power of your rule, in the same proportion do you surpass them all in an accurate acquaintance with all learning, cultivating as you do each several branch with more success than even those who have devoted themselves exclusively to any one. But, inasmuch as it is impossible to demonstrate without the citations of names that we are not alone in confining the notion of God to unity, I have directed my attention to dogmas. Plato, then, says: “To find out the Maker and Father of this universe is difficult; and when found it is impossible to declare him to all,” conceiving of one uncreated and eternal God. And if he recognizes others as well, such as the sun, moon, and stars, yet he recognizes them as created: “gods, offspring of gods, of whom I am the Maker, and the Father of works which are indissoluble apart from my will; but whatever is compounded can be dissolved.” If, therefore, Plato is not an atheist for conceiving of an uncreated God, the Framers of the universe, neither are we atheists who acknowledge and firmly hold that he is God who has framed all things by the Logos, and holds them in being by his Spirit. Aristotle, again, and his followers, recognizing the existence of one whom they regard as a sort of compound living being, speak of God as consisting of soul and body, thinking his body to be the ethereal

space and the planetary stars and the sphere of the fixed stars, moving in circles; but his soul, the reason which presides over the motions of the body, itself not subject to motion, but becoming the cause of motion to the other. The Stoics also, although by the appellations they employ to suit the changes of matter, which they say is permeated by the Spirit of God, they multiply the Deity in name, yet in reality they consider God to be one. For, if God is an artistic fire advancing methodically to the production of [the several things in] the world, embracing in himself all the seminal principles by which each thing is produced in accordance with fate, and if his Spirit pervades the whole world, then God is one according to them, being named Zeus in respect of the fervid part of matter, and Hera in respect of the air, and called by other names in respect of that particular part of matter which he pervades.

*Chapter 10.*—That we are not atheists, therefore, seeing that we acknowledge one God, uncreated, eternal, invisible, impassible, incomprehensible, ilimitable, who is apprehended by the understanding only and the reason, who is encompassed by light, and beauty, and spirit, and power ineffable, by whom the universe has been created through his Logos, and set in order, and is kept in being—I have sufficiently demonstrated. [I say “his Logos”], for we acknowledge also a Son of God. Nor let any one think it ridiculous that God should have a Son. For we do not think concerning God the Father or concerning the Son, with the poets who fictitiously represent the gods as no better than men. But the Son of God is the Logos of the Father, in idea and in energy; for after the pattern of him and by him were all things made, the Father and the Son being one. And, the Son being in the Father and the Father in the Son, in



oneness and power of spirit, the understanding and reason of the Father is the Son of God. But if, in your surpassing intelligence, it occurs to you to inquire what is meant by the Son, I will state briefly that he is the first product of the Father, not as having been brought into existence (for from the beginning God, who is the eternal mind, had the Logos in himself, being from eternity instinct with Logos); but in that he came forth to be the idea and energizing power of all material things, which lay like a nature without attributes, and an inactive earth, the grosser particles being mixed up with the lighter. The prophetic Spirit also agrees with our statements. "The Lord," it says, "made me the beginning of his ways to his works." The Holy Spirit himself also, which operates in the prophets, we assert to be an effluence of God, flowing from him, and returning back again like a beam of the sun. Who, then, would not be astonished to hear men who speak of God the Father, and of God the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and who declare both their power in union and their distinction in order, called atheists? Nor is our teaching in what relates to the divine nature confined to these points; but we recognize also a multitude of angels and ministers, whom God the Maker and Framers of the world distributed and appointed to their several posts by his Logos, to occupy themselves about the elements, and the heavens, and the world and the things in it, and the goodly ordering of them all.

*Chapter 13.*—But, as most of those who charge us with atheism, and that because they have not even the dreamiest conception of what God is, and are doltish and utterly unacquainted with natural and divine things, and such as measure piety by the rule of sacrifices, charge us with not acknowledging the same gods as the cities, be pleased to

attend to the following considerations, O Emperors, on both points. And first, as to our not sacrificing: The Framer and Father of this universe does not need blood, nor the odor of burnt-offerings, nor the fragrance of flowers and incense, forasmuch as he is himself perfect fragrance, needing nothing either within or without; but the noblest sacrifice to him is for us to know who stretched out and vaulted the heavens, and fixed the earth in its place like a center; who gathered the water into seas, and divided the light from the darkness; who adorned the sky with stars, and made the earth to bring forth seed of every kind; who made animals and fashioned man. When, holding God to be this Framer of all things, who preserves them in being and superintends them all by knowledge and administrative skill, we "lift up holy hands" to him, what need has he further of a hecatomb?

"For they, when mortals have transgressed or failed  
To do aright, by sacrifice and prayer,  
Libations and burnt offerings, may be soothed."

And what have I to do with hecatombs, which God does not stand in need of?—though indeed it does behoove us to offer a bloodless sacrifice and "the service of our reason."

*Chapter 16.*—Beautiful without doubt is the world, excelling as well in its magnitude as in the arrangement of its parts, both those in the oblique circle and those about the north, and also in its spherical form. Yet it is not this, but its Artificer, that we must worship. For when any of your subjects come to you, they do not neglect to pay their homage to you, their rulers and lords, from whom they will obtain whatever they need, and address themselves to the magnificence of your palace; but if they chance to come upon the royal residence, they bestow a passing glance of admiration on its

beautiful structure : but it is to you yourselves that they show honor, as being "all in all." You sovereigns, indeed, adorn your palaces for yourselves ; but the world was not created because God needed it ; for God is himself everything to himself—light unapproachable, a perfect world, spirit, power, reason. If, therefore, the world is an instrument in tune, and moving in well-measured time, I adore the Being who gave its harmony, and strikes its notes, and sings the accordant strain, and not the instrument ; for at the musical contests the adjudicators do not pass by the lute-players and crown the lutes. Whether then, as Plato says, the world be a product of divine art, I admire its beauty and adore the Artificer ; or whether it be his essence and body, as the Peripatetics affirm, we do not neglect to adore God, who is the cause of the motion of the body, and descend "to the beggarly and weak elements," adoring in the impassible air (as they term it) passible matter ; or, if any one apprehends the several parts of the world to be powers of God, we do not approach and do homage to the powers, but their Maker and Lord. I do not ask of matter what it has not to give, nor, passing God by, do I pay homage to the elements which can do nothing more than what they were bidden ; for, although they are beautiful to look upon, by reason of the art of their Framer, yet they still have the nature of matter. And to this view Plato also bears testimony ; "for," says he, "that which is called heaven and earth has received many blessings from the Father, but yet partakes of body ; hence it can not possibly be free from change." If, therefore, while I admire the heavens and the elements in respect of their art, I do not worship them as gods, knowing that the law of dissolution is upon them, how can I call those objects gods of whom I know the makers to be men ?

*Chapter 25.*—These angels, then, who have fallen from heaven, and haunt the air and the earth, and are no longer able to rise to heavenly things, and the souls of the giants, which are the demons who wander about the world, perform actions, the demons such as resemble the natures they have received, the angels such as accord with the appetites they have indulged. But the prince of matter, as may be seen merely from what transpires, exercises a control and management contrary to the good that is in God :

“ Ofttimes this anxious thought has crossed my mind,  
 Whether 'tis chance or deity that rules  
 The small affairs of men, and, spite of hope  
 As well as justice, drives to exile some  
 Stripped of all means of life, while others still  
 Continue to enjoy prosperity.”

Prosperity and adversity, contrary to hope and justice, made it impossible for Euripides to say to whom belongs the administration of earthly affairs, which is of such a kind that one might say of it :

“ How then, while seeing these things, can we say  
 There is a race of gods, or yield to laws ? ”

The same thing led Aristotle to say that the things below the heavens are not under the care of Providence, although the eternal providence of God concerns itself equally with us below—

“ The earth, let willingness move her or not,  
 Must herbs produce, and thus sustain my flocks ”—

and addresses itself to the deserving individually, according to truth and not according to opinion; and all other things, according to the general constitution of nature, are provided for by the law of reason. But because the demoniac movements and operations proceeding from the adverse spirit produce these disorderly sallies, and moreover

move men, some in one way and some in another, as individuals and as nations, separately and in common, in accordance with the tendency of matter on the one hand, and of the affinity for divine things on the other, from within and from without, some who are of no mean reputation have therefore thought that this universe is constituted without any definite order, and is driven hither and thither by an irrational chance; not understanding that of those things which belong to the constitution of the whole world, there is nothing out of order or neglected, but that each one of them has been produced by reason, and that therefore they do not transgress the order prescribed to them; and that man himself, too, so far as he that made him is concerned, is well ordered, both by his original nature, which has one common character for all, and by the constitution of his body, which does not transgress the law imposed upon it, and by the termination of his life, which remains equal and common to all alike; but that, according to the character peculiar to himself and the operation of the ruling prince and of the demons his followers, he is impelled and moved in this direction or in that, notwithstanding that all possess in common the same original constitution of mind.

THE TREATISE OF ATHENAGORAS ON THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

*Closing Argument.*

Each of those things which are constituted by nature, and of those which are made by art, must have an end peculiar to itself, as indeed is taught us by the common sense of all men, and testified by the things that pass before our eyes. For do

we not see that husbandmen have one end, and physicians another, and again the things which spring out of the earth another, and the animals nourished upon it, and produced according to a certain natural series, another? If this is evident, and natural and artificial powers, and the actions arising from these, must by all means be accompanied by an end in accordance with nature, it is absolutely necessary that the end of men, since it is that of a peculiar nature, should be separated from community with the rest; for it is not lawful to suppose the same end for beings destitute of rational judgment, and of those whose actions are regulated by the innate law and reason, and who live an intelligent life and observe justice. Freedom from pain, therefore, can not be the proper end for the latter, for this they would have in common with beings utterly devoid of sensibility: nor can it consist in the enjoyment of things which nourish or delight the body, or in an abundance of pleasures; else a life like that of the brutes must hold the first place, while that regulated by virtue is without a final cause. For such an end as this, I suppose, belongs to beasts and cattle, not to men possessed of an immortal soul and rational judgment.

Nor again is it the happiness of soul separated from body: for we are not inquiring about the life or final cause of either of the parts of which man consists, but of the being who is composed of both; for such is every man who has a share in this present existence, and there must be some appropriate end proposed for this life. But if it is the end of both parts together, and this can be discovered neither while they are living in the present state of existence through the numerous causes already mentioned, nor yet when the soul is in a state of separation, because the man can not be said to

exist when the body is dissolved, and indeed entirely scattered abroad, even though the soul continue by itself, it is absolutely necessary that the end of man's being should appear in some reconstitution of the two together, and of the same living being. And as this follows of necessity, there must by all means be a resurrection of the bodies which are dead, or even entirely dissolved, and the same men must be formed anew; since the law of nature ordains the end not absolutely, nor as the end of any men whatsoever, but of the same men who passed through the previous life; but it is impossible for the same men to be reconstituted unless the same bodies are restored to the same souls. But that the same soul should obtain the same body is impossible in any other way, and possible only by the resurrection; for if this takes place, an end befitting the nature of men follows also. And we shall make no mistake in saying, that the final cause of an intelligent life and rational judgment is, to be occupied uninterruptedly with those objects to which the natural reason is chiefly and primarily adapted, and to delight unceasingly in the contemplation of *Him who is*, and of his decrees; notwithstanding that the majority of men, because they are affected too passionately and too violently by things below, pass through life without attaining this object. For the large number of those who fail of the end that belongs to them does not make void the common lot, since the examination relates to individuals, and the reward or punishment of lives ill or well spent is proportioned to the merit of each.

THE END.





Early Christian Literature Primers.

*Edited by Professor* GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D.

THE FATHERS  
OF THE  
THIRD CENTURY.

BY  
REV. GEORGE A. JACKSON.

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# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, A. D. 180-325.

A. D.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	A. D.	GREEK WRITERS.	A. D.	LATIN WRITERS.	A. D.	CHRISTIAN WRITERS.
180-192	Commodus.	180 183 190	Numenius. Aristicides <i>ob.</i> Pollux. Sextus Empiricus.		Julius Paullus.	180	<i>fl.</i> Irenæus. Maximus. Theophilus of Cæsarea. Serapion. Polycrates. Pantænus. Rhodon.
192	Pertinax.						
193	Julian.						
193-211	Septimius Severus.	200	Galenus. Alexander of Aphr. Ammonius Saccas. Oppianus.	210	Obsequens. Palladius.		Asterius Urbanus.
211-217	Caracalla.	211	Diogenes Laertius. Philostratus.	216	Serenus Sammonicus.	210	Caius.
217-218	Macrinus.		Antonius Diogenes. Ælianus.			216	Minucius Felix.
218-222	Heliogabalus.	222	Athenæus. Dion Cassius.		Papinian. Ulpian.	217 220 222	<i>ob.</i> Clement of Alexandria. <i>ob.</i> Tertullian. Julius Africanus.
222-235	Alexander Severus.	228 230	Origenes.	230	Cælius Apicius? Censorinus.		<i>ob.</i> Hippolytus.
235-238	Maximin. The Gordians. Maximus. { Balbinus. }		Herodianus.	238			
238-244	Gordianus.	240					
244-249	Philip.						
249-251	Decius.						Alexander of Jerus'm. <i>fl.</i> Novatian.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, A. D. 180-325.—(Continued.)

A. D.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	A. D.	GREEK WRITERS.	A. D.	LATIN WRITERS.	A. D.	CHRISTIAN WRITERS.
251-253	Gallus					253 258	<i>ob.</i> Origen. <i>ob.</i> Cyprian. Pontius.
253-260	Valerian.					265 265	<i>ob.</i> Dionysius of Alex'ria. Dionysius of Rome.
260-268	Gallienus.					270	<i>ob.</i> Greg'y Thaumaturgus.
268-270	Claudius.	270	Plotinus <i>ob.</i>				
270-275	Aurelian.	273	Longinus <i>ob.</i>				
275-276	Tacitus.						
276	Florianus.						
276-282	Probus.					278	Archelaus. Macarius Magnus.
282-283	Carus.					279	Anatolius Laodicea.
283-284	Numerianus.					283	Pierius. Malchio.
284-285	Carinus.					285	Theognostus. Phileas. Theonas.
284-303	Diocletian.	285		285	Calpurnius.	300	Alexander of Lycop'lis.
286-303	Maximian.	288		288	Nemcsian.	304	Peter of Alexandria.
292-311	Galerius.	300		300	Spartianus.	307	Pamphilus.
292-306	Constantius.	300		300	Vulcatius.	312	Methodius.
304-307	Severus.	303		303	Vopiscus.		Antonius. Commodianus.
304-313	Maximin.	305		310	Trebellius Pollio.	325	Lactantius. Victorinus.
306-312	Maxentius.			310	Lampridius.		Arnobius.
306-337	Constantine.				Capitolinus.	326	Alexander of Alex'ria.
307-324	Licinius.						

## PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

---

IF the second century is recognized as the formative period of the church, the third century should be termed its aggressive period. Already in the second century we see the new faith beginning to appreciate its dignity, not only as a spiritual renovator, but also as a system of truth, which may assert itself in opposition to the decaying philosophic systems, and to the careless agnosticism of such jesters as Lucian. With the writers of our present period this feeling is more marked. "Apologies" are still occasionally written, even as late as the beginning of the fourth century, but the prevailing writings, which are now so numerous as to constitute a veritable literature, are works setting forth systematically the fundamental Christian doctrines, or works in refutation of heretical teachings, in all of which there is an evident purpose and expectation to win new adherents to the faith. The progress made was simply marvelous. While at the beginning of the reign of Commodus, Christianity, though somewhat widely disseminated, was only a

feeble sect, but just coming to be distinguished from Judaism and from various despised Oriental religions, the close of our era, A. D. 325, leaves the once despised believers the controlling power in the empire, the Emperor their avowed champion, and the whole machinery of the state employed to convene a council of the church. Progress was made as well in new fields as in those before occupied. During this time we have evidence of conquests of the gospel in Britain, new portions of Gaul, Rhenish Germany, Spain, Proconsular Africa, with Numidia and Mauritania, Upper Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and Armenia. The interior progress in the older parts of the empire is marked by the building of houses of worship, by the open patronage of Christianity by several of the emperors, and, quite as decidedly, by the intensity of the persecutions by opposing emperors. Whereas the persecutions in former times had been either local or carried on as a precautionary measure against some future overthrow of the state religion, now they are undertaken with the spirit of those who fight for their own existence. "What," says the sacerdotal power behind the throne, "shall become of the state religion, and what of the state itself, if decisive measures are not taken against these public enemies? Already calamities are multiplying upon us by reason of their neglect of the sacrifices; they or we must be exterminated." Under Decius, therefore, it is determined to blot out utterly the noxious faith. In every province all Christians are summoned to appear and offer sacrifice. Persuasions, torture—all possible inducements—are used to make



them deny the faith, efforts not wholly without success. In the prosperous times many had come into the church who were not prepared for this baptism of fire, and so great was the number of the "lapsed" that it became a serious question in the churches how they were to be dealt with on their return. Still the lapsed were but few compared with those who would not sacrifice. All previous efforts having proved futile, one last and desperate persecution was undertaken under Diocletian and Galerius, and continued several years. All, however, was in vain. Galerius, in A. D. 311, was compelled to confess his persecutions a failure, a step soon followed by the victory of Constantine, gained under the banner inscribed "*Hoc vince*," and by rescripts giving full toleration to Christianity, and followed not long after by the virtual adoption of the faith as the religion of the empire.

But these external movements were only the outcome of something beneath the surface. The third century was a period of deep and serious thought. The age of the Antonines, that "felicitous era" when the old civilization reached its culmination, was an age of shallow thought and of poverty of moral purpose; an "Age of Rhetoric," an art which even the laughing Lucian tells us that he had cast off because "she was always painting her face and tiring her head"; an age whose very religion was, confessedly, only a matter of police. Under Commodus and his successors, however, that season of thoughtless content gave place to a period of anxiety. Civil wars, foreign encroachments upon the empire, together with numerous natural calami-

ties, conspired to give a more serious tone to life. Questions began to be frequent which had but little place in that age of prosperity, questions which only deep and sober thought could answer. Christianity was not alone in tendering a solution to these. There had been serious ages before in heathen history, in which men had queried about the conditions and aims of human life. Of all the reasonings in reply, the Platonic philosophy had come nearest to giving an answer; and now, in the modified form of Neo-Platonism, that philosophy is revived. Aided by truths which may have come, through Alexandria, from Judea and the East, Numenius and Ammonius Saccas, and Plotinus and Porphyry, elaborated a system which offered no mean food to inquiring minds. At first these thinkers were rather favorable than otherwise toward Christianity; but, working side by side, the radical difference between a religion and a philosophy soon appeared, and the later Neo-Platonists actively opposed the faith. But, though offering the highest form of thought yet presented to men apart from revelation, Neo-Platonism did not satisfactorily answer the questions which the age was asking, and—its fatal defect—offered no hope to its struggling millions, pointed to no saving power to lift men above what they were being forced to call this present evil world. Christianity did offer such hope, did point to such a power, not with the passiveness of philosophy, but with an earnestness which implied the desperate needs of those to whom it spoke. Then, too, Christianity was getting past that stage in which the faithful, separating themselves from the

world, were only waiting until, at the Lord's coming, all things earthly should be destroyed. There is evinced more and more the feeling that Christianity has come to stay—that, instead of a power in antagonism with the world, it is a power for the renovation, not simply of individual hearts, but also of society—of the great world itself.

Thus, working by the side of, and in a sense as a competitor with, a learned and sincere philosophy, and at the same time conscious of a power transcending all philosophy, it is no wonder that Christianity produced in this age such writers as Irenæus, and Hippolytus, and Clement, and Tertullian, and Cyprian; it accords, indeed, with all our expectations of such an age that it should offer the high thinking and the Christian living of its Origen. Thought this was which could only be reached by an age in which philosophy vied with a pure religion for the benefiting of the world; living this was worthy of a time in which blood was shed like water for conscience' sake—in which men verily believed that whosoever loveth his life shall lose it, but whosoever loseth his life for Christ's sake shall find it.

The internal development of the church, apart from its writings, demands a moment's thought. As will be seen in the essay on the Latin writers, the age recorded the beginning of a new type of Christianity, the practical, the judicial, the administrative religion of the West. But, in addition to this new departure, there was a gradual progress, both East and West, in the clear apprehension of the relations and harmony of the great Christian doc-

trines. There was also a change and readaptation of the customs of worship from the simplicity which marked them in earlier days to the more formal character required by large congregations meeting in edifices used exclusively for Christian worship. Whatever traces of a liturgy may be found in the primitive days, there certainly was during this period a large development in the direction of liturgical services. Whether any of the ancient eucharistic offices which have come down to us date from the third century is very uncertain, but such antiquity is claimed for the liturgies of Jerusalem and Alexandria, and for the Clementine office.

Another noticeable change effected during this period is in the more marked separation of the clergy from the laity—the constituting, indeed, of a clerical order, which, forbidden to exercise any ordinary business function, is supported wholly by the church.

# GREEK WRITERS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

WE are often enough reminded that among the providential preparations for Christianity was the perfecting and disseminating of the Greek language as a vehicle for the new revelation. A fact of perhaps deeper significance was that the new faith was first committed to the Greek mind as its custodian. In the period of the world into which Christianity came—the classical age—progress was made, not as in our modern age, but by races. Three distinct types of culture were elaborated, and each by its own people, viz., the religious culture of the Hebrews, the intellectual culture of the Greeks, and the disciplinary culture of the Romans. Christianity came as a power to universalize the first and divinest of these. No longer a prerogative of the one little people who had been given to see the Unseen, a spiritual apprehension of God was now to be made the heritage of the race. But, though the spiritual was the divinest of the elements thus wrought out, it was only one of three, all of which the history of that age proved to be necessary for

the complete culture of the race. Christianity, therefore, as chiefest of the three, must both do her own distinctive work and take care that the other two also become universal and combine harmoniously with her own training. This affiliation must be brought about by the ultimate assimilation of the other elements by herself—the incorporation of Greece and Rome within a universalized Judea. More was therefore done when the Gospels were written in Greek than to gain an instrument for wide communication. The first step was taken toward the synthesizing of those several cultures by whose union the race is one day to stand erect in the divine likeness. It is noteworthy that, though the last of the two elements to be mastered, the intellectual was the first with which Christianity allied herself. The Author of Christianity had lived most of his life in a Roman province; his death and resurrection were witnessed by Roman officials; thus affording, it might seem, a point of contact between the faith and the Latin world. As a fact, however, the Latin world knew comparatively little of Christianity for more than a century after its establishment. It is not hard to understand why. Latinism, unlike Hellenism, was not yet a fully developed culture. When so developed, Christianity was to lay hold upon it, and, for more than a thousand years, devote itself to the work of its subordination. Meantime, however, the new faith turns to the Greeks. In Greek it is written, in Greek it is preached, in Greek form it is apprehended, and by Greek methods it is organized and propagated. A Greek breadth of thought prevails, and, to appear-

ances, all that is best in the Hellenic culture is to be assimilated by the Christian teachers. Pointing the world to God, and making spiritual truth universal, they seem likely to formulate this truth with the grasp of philosophers; bestowing upon mankind what has been until now the prerogative of Judea, they seem destined to bestow what has been the prerogative of Greece and her colonies. But this prospect is deceptive. The time is not yet for universalizing this Hellenic element. A complete synthesis can be had only after all the elements are elaborated in detail. Besides, there are impending days of revolution and dissolution, when the conduct of the world will be a more important trust than its thinking. All that Christianity does now, therefore, is, to use a provincial phrase, to "pre-empt" Greek thought and pass by to Latin life. When Alexander the Great set out on his career of conquest, he dared not simply to invest Tyre and then march to the East. He must needs sit down before the city and actually raze it before he could proceed. The campaign which we are considering had no such timorous leader. He with whom a thousand years are as a day is in no haste. He, therefore, only invests the city, only retains the vigor of the church in Greek hands long enough to affirm the harmony of faith and reason, to just hint at possibilities when the set time shall have come for their union, and goes on to intermediate conquests in the West. At those conquests we glance in the latter part of this volume, and in Book Four of this series. What was done through Greek channels, and what claim was established by the faith

upon Hellenic thought, will appear in the Greek writings of this volume, and in Book Three.

The four Greek authors who characterized this period were Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Let us see with what subjects they dealt. In the Antoninian age, which preceded this, there had appeared on the confines of Christianity, attracted by its high discourse of things unseen, but repelled by the humble spirit in which it propounded such divine truth, certain so-called Gnostics, who claimed an esoteric insight into things spiritual, and propounded elaborate systems purporting to explain the origin of evil and the connection of the infinite with the finite. These teachers used enough of the Christian nomenclature to suggest to the unwary that they were Christians, though they were utterly astray from the principles of the Gospels. As soon, therefore, as Justin and Athenagoras, and their compeers, have vindicated the right of Christianity to be, and the tone of apology in Christian letters grows less marked, there is call for a correction of these Gnostic errors. It is very evident, from the earnestness with which Irenæus writes, as well as from his express assertions, that such errors were proving influential and hurtful. For, though a Greek, he does not write from interest in abstract truth. He was a missionary among the heathen Gauls, mingling with them so much that he apologizes for his speech, and he seizes his pen with the practical aim and the holy zeal of an apostle. But, once he begins to write, he proves himself a thinker and a scholar. His "Five Books against Heresies" do not simply un-



mask the Gnostic pretenders. He refutes a counterfeit Christianity by presenting a true Christianity, and thereby leaves a record of the opinions and practices of the Catholic churches of his day which is now one of our most valuable memorials of the early faith. Hippolytus, also, a zealous preacher and an active worker for men in the busy port of Rome, where he met with wanderers from all nations, must have had a similar practical aim in composing his principal work, "The Refutation of all Heresies." When he writes, however, it is with a breadth of learning and an exhaustive survey of his subject which prove his desire that all the wealth of human knowledge should be pressed into the service of his religion.

But both these fathers hold somewhat exceptional positions. Remote from the philosophic schools of the East, plunged amid the busy cares of life, they must needs differ from the typical Greek writer like the next whom we note. He, Clement of Alexandria, offers an example of the purely philosophic conception of Christianity. His works were called forth by no heresies which he saw leading men astray; but, from the seclusion of the library and the lecture-room, he calmly discourses of Christian truth as Plato might have spoken in the Academy. If at times he warms to enthusiasm, if he even pens a hymn of praise to the divine "Instructor," it is because his theme for the moment compels his passion. If, however, we have to acknowledge in Clement an over-development of the Grecian at the expense of the diviner culture, the balance is restored in Origen, not by this father's

having less of the Hellenic fire, but by the complete possession of his grand mind by the spirit of his Galilean Master. A philosopher of the noblest type, he yet inherited the blood of martyrs, and, when not permitted in his youth to die for Christ, he lives, he thinks, he philosophizes for Christ as he might have done had he never lost sight of the axe that martyred his father, until, an old man, he actually gave his own life for his Lord. Clement had thought it necessary for a philosopher to "grow gray in the Scripture," but Origen deems the understanding of the Scripture the paramount aim of human thought. To the preparation of his learned edition of the Old Testament, "The Hexepla," he gave twenty-seven years of labor, making use of the rarest manuscripts, and employing a great number of scribes and copyists, by which means he erected a monument of erudition of which the profoundest modern scholarship might be proud. Besides, he covered almost the entire Scriptures with elaborate commentaries. Though replete with thought, the value of these expositions is greatly impaired by their extreme allegorical methods of interpretation. While, beyond question, the intellectual leader of his day, Origen nevertheless belonged to that allegorizing age introduced by Philo, and did not escape its trammels. But, if hampered by a false method in expounding the details of Scripture, when he breaks away from his bonds and talks to us of eternal truths, his form begins to loom until he appears the central figure of his age. We may take the measure of the man by the problems which he pondered. Not upon the issues of this little life of

threescore years and ten did he dwell, not upon the consummation of all things earthly even, but upon that final consummation when "God shall be all in all." Literally alone he was in his musings. Smaller men could not, less holy men dared not, follow him. To the noblest intellect of the Christian Church, with a spirit that looked upward to the very face of God in peace, such thoughts were only natural meditations. What if they found no comprehension and little appreciation in that age? We have seen that while Christianity only fairly touched the Greek intellect at this time, it yet, by that touch, was to suggest to a far-off age the possibilities of thought to minds imbued with God.

Such lofty thinking, however, did not take Origen away from his work upon the pressing questions of his age. In the earlier part of his career Gnostic speculations had not lost their hold upon men, and he did noble work in clearing away the mists from the minds of heretics, and revealing to them the true Light. A worthier adversary was the Neo-Platonism so nearly contemporary with himself, and which offered that to thinking men which required Christianity to be projected among them by master minds. We can best appreciate this work by noting briefly the points at issue in this contest. First, as to the relations of God to man, Christianity said, "A personal God, who thinks and loves, who may be approached and worshiped, is seeking after men, having for this purpose become incarnate and given the world thereby a pledge of redemption." Neo-Platonism said: "Men are seeking after God; haply some few may find him, but whether within them-

selves or without may not be affirmed." As to the divine goodness, Christianity said, "It is like human goodness, reaching out to all the world, irrespective of their degradation or their receptivity." Neo-Platonism said, "A different standard of morality obtains for human and divine natures, and, since the philosophic man is to become a god, virtue is to him not an end but only a means." About this godlikeness in men, Neo-Platonism said, "It is present in philosophers as a part of their natures." Christianity said, "It is present in *man*, but it is something from without, working upon him to lift him up." Once more Christianity said: "Lifted up by this divine influence, man will show certain new possessions—righteousness, love; in a word, likeness to a holy God." Neo-Platonism consented that he should show new possessions, but, having denied that virtue, such as any slave might exercise, was a worthy end for a philosopher, it was driven ultimately to claim for its leaders supernatural gifts, a claim which opened upon it the floodgates of magic and theurgy which ultimately destroyed the system.

In no way do we see Origen in his true proportions better than in his training of his scholars. Gregory Thaumaturgus tells us with what patient care he sifted his own and his brothers' characters, not only himself finding out their capacities and weaknesses, their faults and excellences, but luminously revealing all these to themselves. This he effected by conversations with them, directed always to the end of arriving at the absolute truth, and of eliciting from them utterances whose one aim should be, not to make a display, but to express exactly

what lay in the speaker's mind. Having thus shown them to themselves, and having given them a perfect vehicle of expression, he first led them to a study of external nature, basing their investigations upon the science of geometry, and proceeding thence upward, step by step, until they dealt with the grandest phenomena of the universe. Next in the course came moral science, which was treated not as a theory but as a life. "He stimulated us," says Gregory, "by the deeds he did more than by the doctrines he taught." So he led his pupils on to the appreciative study of philosophy, giving the words of the old thinkers a new and nobler meaning to their minds. In this study they were to embrace all systems, rejecting only the writings of atheists. To crown all, they were finally brought to the Holy Scriptures, the "Oracles of God," in interpreting which his pupils claimed for Origen a veritable divine gift. "Therefore to us," says Gregory, "there was no forbidden theme, nothing hidden or inaccessible. We had in our power to learn every kind of doctrine, barbarian and Greek, both spiritual and civil, both divine and human; and were permitted with all freedom to traverse and investigate the whole circle of knowledge, and to enjoy the sweets of intellect."

The influence of this great father extended to all parts of the church, excepting perhaps the Church of North Africa, and its power was everywhere beneficent. There was in it, however, a large personal element, as there must needs be in the power of a man who could meet opponents in public discussions and not simply silence them, but so convince them as to win from them expressions of gratitude

for showing them their error. At his death this personal element was of course lost, and the tide of the world and narrowing influences within the church were against the continued influence of his writings. For a few years some of his surviving contemporaries cherished his memory, and were broadened and sweetened thereby. A few, also, of the leaders of the following century—Basil, the two Gregories, and Chrysostom—perceived his greatness and would gladly have perpetuated his power, but the wish was vain. Latin Christianity must run its course, and Augustine must reign above a thousand years.

But the great can wait. Latinism, alike with Hellenism and Judaism, has now become an historic culture, and the work of the modern world to universalize these local products is well in hand. Christianity, confined for an age to a single field of conquest, is at last returning to her interrupted work. The Tyre which was passed by is yet to fall; but, once more unlike the conquest of Alexander, the Hellenic culture is not to be blotted out, but to be taken up by Christianity as an ally with herself in the redemption of the world. And, in this new and larger career, the Christian faith is often to point her adherents back over the ages to Alexandria and Cæsarea, and, while not disparaging the noble work of her faithful ones during the Latin age, to suggest the study of this man Origen. We shall not be bidden to follow him in his conclusions, but we shall be bidden to think with his spirit. This little book is sent forth in full faith that such bidding is to be heeded, and that no more truly did Origen subdue all Alexandrian wisdom to a child-

like faith, than the age before us is to witness a like subduing of the best and grandest that has ever been thought to the self-sacrificing love of Origen's Master. To aid but slightly in such a work were a noble compensation for any labor.

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### IRENÆUS.

“HITHERTO shalt thou come but no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed,” is the triumphant address of apologists to critics, whenever they approach Irenæus. For, however shifting and insubstantial the questioner may deem the earlier traces of our present conceptions of Christianity, in Irenæus he sees all that was misty and uncertain condensed and crystallized into the clear and positive teachings which now obtain. But if thus the *terminus ad quem* of historical criticism, Irenæus is the *terminus a quo* of theological controversies. For three centuries he has been, now the boasted champion, and now the friend who needed to be explained, of the two great camps of Christendom. It was by a cardinal's fortunate use of Irenæus's expression of unwillingness to meet heretics in public places that Francis I was kept from giving Melancthon a hearing in France, and so, perhaps, from committing France to the Reformation. It is over Irenæus that late numbers of English theological reviews are still debating.

This great father—of whom Eusebius says that in his writings he makes it clear that he stood in im-

mediate relations to the apostles—was, if not born, at least educated in Asia Minor, where he listened in boyhood to the instructions of Polycarp. The date of his birth may be fixed approximately at A. D. 130. Though called by some a Syrian, it is more plausibly conjectured that he was a Galatian by descent, and so peculiarly fitted for the mission to which his life was devoted. This life-work was to disseminate Christianity among the Gallic Celts of the Rhône and Saône Valleys, between whose language and that of the Asiatic Gauls there was a close resemblance. Following Pothinus, who is said by Gregory of Tours to have been sent out by Polycarp, Irenæus began his labors at the city of Lyons. About A. D. 177 he was sent to Rome as the bearer of a letter from the churches of Vienne and Lyons to Eleutherius. Very soon after this he succeeded Pothinus as Bishop of Lyons. He is thought to have died a martyr under Septimius Severus, A. D. 202.

While his chief strength was doubtless given to missionary work among the untutored Celts, Irenæus did not (as he modestly suggests) lose the powers of a finely cultured Greek. These he devoted to the preparation of a work, "Against Heresies," which has come down to us entire, most of the first book in the original Greek, the other four in a very literal Latin translation, nearly as old as the original. Gnosticism, the general name of the heretical opinions of the second century, may be defined as a Christological philosophy, whose chief problems were the origin of evil and the relationship of the infinite to the finite. It "made of religion a theory



for the understanding, and not a life for the soul." Though in its higher advocates approximating to Christian ideas as to outward morals, and though appreciative of spiritual distinctions, the Christian conception of redemption as a renewal of the world in righteousness was yet foreign to its thought. Setting no bounds to the questions which their reason was to solve, the Gnostics' beliefs assumed many and widely various forms. Their one great point of unity was their common doctrine as to divine emanations from a Supreme Æon. All, too, recognized to a certain extent the dualistic principle, since all agreed in assigning the origin of this lower world, which was produced by a plastic power and conditioned by matter, to a certain Demiurge, who was inferior to and contrasted with the Father of the higher world of emanations. Their chief point of difference, theoretically, was in the relative position given to this Demiurge. On the one hand, the Alexandrian Gnostics, recognizing the Platonic doctrine of the *ὑλη*, made their opposing principle only dead matter, to be controlled and utilized by the spiritual principle. On the other hand, the Syrian Gnostics, inclining to the Parsee dualism, made the opposing principle an aggressive power for evil. The former, in their doctrine of the Demiurge, followed closely the speculative Jews of Alexandria, many of whom, embracing Christianity, saw in the Creator of the Old Testament a representative of the Supreme God, appointed by him to administer an earthly dispensation, which was a veiled type of the divine. Christianity, the dispensation of the Christ of the Supreme, thus to their

minds immeasurably transcended Judaism, but no antagonism subsisted between them. In recognizing thus an historic preparation for Christianity, this school of thinkers did a true service to the philosophy of the faith. Without them the Church might have lacked its Clement of Alexandria and its Origen, and have found even greater difficulty than it experienced in winning the philosophic world. On the contrary, the more pronounced dualistic Gnostics, who were of Oriental origin, utterly opposed the Old Testament religion, as the work of a Demiurge hostile to God, and seeking to establish his own independence. For convenience of classification, we may say that the Gnostics of Jewish origin and sympathies were in every way, in morals as well as in theories, superior to those of Oriental tendencies. We must, however, make an important qualification of this statement in favor of Marcion and of Tatian, who, though strongly anti-Judaistic, yet seemed to labor after a pure and spiritual Christianity. The first man to incorporate a Christology with philosophy, and so, in a sense, the founder of Gnosticism, was considered to be Simon Magus, who, with Cerinthus, was contemporary with the apostles; but the full development of the system was only reached under Basilides and Valentinus. It is this developed scheme which Irenæus mainly opposes. In doing this he sets forth with considerable fullness the established faith of the Church, using for this purpose the same Scriptures which now exist, and with the same deference that is now accorded to them; and also gives much valuable information upon the ecclesiastical usages of his day.

The modern controversies over this book have concerned mainly the relations of Scripture and tradition, the idea of the Church, and the doctrine of the eucharist. What Irenæus's opinions were may be gathered from what we give of his writings.

The date of the work "Against Heresies" was A. D. 182-188. Subsequently, when Victor, Bishop of Rome, was resorting to harsh measures to compel the churches to a uniform observance of the paschal feast, Irenæus addressed to him a letter counseling moderation. The substance of this letter has been preserved by Eusebius and is given hereafter, together with a letter to Florinus, rescued by Eusebius from a lost work of Irenæus on the "Ogdoad." Besides these writings, we have numerous small fragments of our author—none, however, of very great importance. Certain so-called Pfaffian fragments, discovered during the last century, can not with certainty be assigned to Irenæus. The translations here given have been made mainly from the text of Harvey, but the notation followed is that of Stieren.

## WRITINGS OF IRENÆUS.

### FIVE BOOKS AGAINST HERESIES.

#### *Prayer of Irenæus.*

Wherefore I call upon thee, Lord God of Abraham, and God of Isaac, and God of Jacob and Israel, who art the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God who through the abundance of thy mercy hast been well affected toward us, that we should know thee who hast made heaven and earth, who

dost govern all things, who art the only and the true God, above whom there is no other God; through our Lord Jesus Christ, grant also the governing power of the Holy Spirit; give to every reader of this book to know thee, that thou art God alone, to be confirmed in thee, and to avoid all heretical and godless and impious doctrine. (Bk. III, vi, 4.)

*Object of the Work.*

In the preface the author says: "I shall, then, to the best of my power, set forth clearly and concisely the opinions of those who are now teaching error. I speak particularly of the disciples of Ptolemæus, whose school is, so to speak, a flower culled from that of Valentinus. I shall also, according to my moderate ability, furnish the means for their overthrow, by showing that what they say is absurd, and inconsistent with the truth."

*Book One.—Doctrine of the Heretics.*

The heretics maintain that there is in the invisible and ineffable heights above a certain perfect, preëxistent Æon (Eternal). They call him First-Beginning, First-Father, and Profundity, but he is invisible and incomprehensible. Eternal and unbegotten, he remained throughout countless ages in silence and profound rest. With him was Thought, whom they also call Grace and Silence. This First-Father and Thought, by conjunction, produced Intelligence and Truth, constituting the first Tetrad. Intelligence was thus the beginning and fashioning of the entire Pleroma (Fullness). He sent forth Word and Life, who, in turn, produced Man and Church, forming the first Ogdoad. These Æons, seeking the glory of the Father, sent forth emanations by conjunction, Word and Life producing, besides Man and Church, ten other Æons, and Man

and Church producing twelve Æons.<sup>1</sup> \* Thus we have the thirty Æons of the system, described by the Gnostics as wrapped in silence, and known only to themselves (the teachers). This Pleroma is tripartite, being divided into an Ogdoad, a Decad, and a Duodecad. The thirty Æons are said to be indicated by the  $1 + 3 + 6 + 9 + 11 = 30$  hours of the parable of the laborers in the vineyard. The First-Father was known only by Intelligence, but the other Æons desired to see him, particularly Wisdom, the youngest of all, who so stretched herself forward that she was in danger of being absorbed into his essence. In the attempt she brought forth an amorphous substance, such as the female alone could produce, beholding which she experienced grief, fear, ignorance, and bewilderment, out of which, they declare, material substance had its beginning. Wisdom herself was only restored and kept in the Pleroma by Limit, whom the Father had produced without conjunction. Her desire, with its passion, was separated from her, and fenced off out of the circle. Intelligence, now, acting with the Father, gives origin to Christ and the Holy Spirit, for the purpose of strengthening the Pleroma. These take the place of the Father and Thought, in making up the thirty Æons, who are now all made coequal, and who contribute, each of his best, and produce Jesus, together with angels for his body-guard.

References are said to be found in Scripture to the Æons in the "for ever and ever," to the Duodecad in the twelve apostles, etc., etc. The Desire of Wisdom, which was called Achamoth, was at first formless, but was given form by Christ, who for this purpose extended himself beyond the boundary of the Pleroma, and afterward, returning, sent forth the Saviour with his angels.

\* The figures indicate passages quoted on pages 40, ff.

The passions of Achamoth gave origin to matter, her tears forming liquids, her smiles things lucent, and so on, all through the power of the Saviour. The latter, also, from the conversion of Achamoth, formed animal existences. For, at seeing him, Achamoth was strengthened and her passions were separated from her; after which, gazing with rapture upon the angels, she brought forth spiritual existences. Out of animal substances Achamoth formed the Demiurge or Creator of the world, in the image of Intelligence. This Creator, dwelling above the seven heavens, being incapable of recognizing spiritual essences, vainly imagined himself the only God, and that he made all things. The devil, a spirit of wickedness whose place is in this world, was formed by the Creator, and originated from griefs. Being a spirit, he apprehends things spiritual above him. The Creator also formed man, and breathed into him his animal nature. But into the Creator had been conveyed, secretly, by Achamoth, a certain spiritual element, so that, without himself knowing it, he gave something of a spiritual nature to man. All material existences are to perish. The animal and spiritual are united for discipline, the animal needing to be trained by the outward senses. To the latter the Saviour came, to effect its salvation. The spiritual is to be perfected by Gnosis. The heretics are these spiritual existences. To animal men faith and good works are necessary; the spiritual can not fail of salvation, for no kind of action is able to corrupt them. Thus it is, says our author, that the Gnostics become immoral.

Achamoth is to pass into the Pleroma, taking with her all the spiritual; she is to be the bride of the Saviour; they, brides of the angels. The Creator is to go into the place of Achamoth, and the world will be burned up. Material men will go to destruction; animal men, if they choose the

good, will go into the intermediate place; if they choose the bad, will also be destroyed; spiritual men, going into the Pleroma, leave their animal natures behind. Of animal souls, some are by nature good, some bad.

This system is supported by a fraudulent use of Scripture, which the author illustrates by joining together disconnected passages of Homer.<sup>2</sup> The consistent faith (creed)<sup>3</sup> of the Church, the same in Germany and Libya, in the East and in Gaul, is set forth in contrast with these heresies, which are ridiculed.<sup>4</sup> The author further sets forth the doctrines—the wrong ideas of redemption, the denial of baptism,<sup>5</sup> etc.—and the practices of Colorbasus, Marcus, Simon Magus, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, the Ebionites, the Nicolaitanes, Cerdo, Marcion, the Barbeliotes, Ophites, Sethians, and Cainites.

*Book Two.—Refutation from Reason.*

It is a matter of necessity that God, the Pleroma, should contain all things and be contained by nothing. If there is anything beyond him, he is not the Pleroma of all, and does not contain all. Now, since there does exist something else outside the Pleroma, into which the straying power descended, it is necessary either that the Pleroma contain that which is beyond, or that the Pleroma and the beyond be separated by an infinite distance. But maintaining this, there will be a third kind of existence, which will bound and contain both the others, and will be greater than both. So they might go on *ad infinitum*, and their thought would never rest in one God.<sup>6</sup> The world was not formed by angels against the will of the Supreme, else he would have a superior; if it was by his will, he was really the Creator. If God contained all things, creation could not have been formed by another. They

must acknowledge a certain chaos below the spiritual Pleroma, in which to form the universe. Either the First-Father was ignorant as to what would happen in this, in which case he would not be prescient of all things, or he knew what would be made, and, having formed this ideally, he would be the Creator. The "vacuity" of the Gnostics is shown to be of like honor with the Father, and superior to the other Æons. Further, if there is nothing outside the Pleroma, the Father must have allowed a stain within himself. If within and without the Pleroma means simply being in a state of knowledge or ignorance, the Saviour and Christ must have become ignorant. The Creator could not have been ignorant of the Supreme, being his property and creature. Arguing that created things are not images of Æons, the author says that they should declare of what Æon eternal fire, prepared for the devil, is an image. Nor are things below shadows of things in the Pleroma. The ancients and the Church universal confess one God. He created all things out of nothing. The Triacontad is shown to have either fewer or more than thirty Æons. The production of Intelligence from Profundity and Thought is disproved; also the order of production of the Æons. The Gnostic teachings were derived from the Greeks, the names alone being changed. Either the Creator formed of himself the images of things which he made, or the Pleroma was patterned after something anterior, and so on. Wisdom could not be in ignorance; her Desire could not exist apart from herself; and her striving after knowledge of God ought to have brought her to perfection, not disgrace. The opinions of the heretics as to their own origin, and as to the Demiurge, are shown to be absurd. It is a vain endeavor to attempt to prove the sufferings of the twelfth Æon. Other asserted types are disproved,



and Christ is asserted to have lived some fifty years.<sup>8</sup> It is absurd to seek God and divine truth through numbers and letters and syllables. The entire Scriptures can be clearly and unambiguously understood by all, and should not receive obscure interpretations. We should reserve something to submit to God, since perfect knowledge is not attainable in this life. The heretical views as to the destiny of the soul and body are refuted. The heretics, calling themselves spiritual and the Creator animal, are challenged to equal his works. After a recapitulation and an exposure of the works of the heretics in contrast with the miraculous works and the pure prayers of the Church,<sup>9</sup> the author disproves the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which he says was originated by Plato. That the souls of the dead continue and remember the things of this world is shown by the narrative of Dives and Lazarus. The continuance of life, however, is not from man's nature, but is the gift of God.<sup>10</sup>

*Book Three.—Refutation from Scriptures.*

The apostles, endowed with the gifts and power of the Spirit, preached one God alone, Maker of heaven and earth,<sup>11</sup> which truth the heretics do not follow, but which has been preserved by a succession of bishops in the churches.<sup>12</sup> Thus the Church is the only depository of apostolic doctrine.<sup>13</sup> The truth which it holds was taught, without accommodation to men's prejudices, by Christ and his apostles; also by the Holy Ghost, in the Old Testament Scriptures. Explanation of 2 Corinthians iv, 5, and Matthew vi, 24. The one God, whom the prophets proclaimed, is presented in the gospels by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, which gospels are four in number, neither more nor less.<sup>14</sup> The same truth which the churches teach was taught by the apostles and their disciples, notably by Peter, James, John,

Philip, Stephen, and Paul. That these men were not still under the bondage of Judaism is shown by reference to Stephen's address, and to the council at Jerusalem. Paul was not the only one knowing the truth (as Marcion says), and his authority was not, on the other hand, to be despised (as by the Ebionites).

Scriptural proofs are given that Jesus Christ was one being (not Jesus the Son of Man upon whom the Christ descended only temporarily), the only-begotten of the Father, who became incarnate when the fullness of time had come when the Son of God was to become the Son of Man. Further proofs of this are given; also proofs that Christ did not suffer simply in appearance. The Word actually became flesh. He was not a mere man, begotten by Joseph, but was "himself, in his own right, beyond all men who ever lived, God and Lord and King eternal," having "that preëminent birth which is from the Most High Father;" and, "since he had a generation as to his human nature from Mary, . . . was made the Son of Man."

A gracious purpose of God is to be seen in the fall of man, man being thereby taught his dependence upon God for salvation.<sup>15</sup> The prophecy of Isaiah vii, 14 is shown from the Septuagint version to be of a *virgin*. Christ was so born of a virgin, assuming actual flesh from her. Tatian is here opposed, and the argument is recapitulated. The heretics are said to be overthrown by their own arguments, while the teaching of the Church through the Spirit of God<sup>16</sup> is consistent.

*Book Four.—Further Argument from Scripture.*

We advance, now, to the words of the Lord, who taught us to confess no one as Father except the one God, which confession was made by David and Isaiah, whose words concerning himself Christ ac-

knowledged.—Objections concerning the passing away of heaven and earth and the overthrow of Jerusalem are answered.—This one God has revealed himself in his Word. Matt. xi, 27 is expounded. “All saw the Father in the Son (the Word), for the Father is the invisible of the Son, but the Son the visible of the Father.” Abraham knew God through the revelation of the Word, and he rejoiced in Christ’s advent. It is in vain, therefore, for Marcion to exclude Abraham and his descendants from salvation; for Christ spoke of Abraham as in the kingdom of heaven.

Both covenants are from one author, the Old Testament foretelling of the Son of God, and the old prophets and righteous men desiring to see him. This truth is apparent from Christ’s condemnation of tradition repugnant to the Mosaic law, and his confirmations of the precepts of the law.

God formed man of his munificence, and demanded obedience for man’s own welfare. The natural law, embodied in the decalogue, was at the beginning implanted in men’s hearts;<sup>17</sup> afterward it was necessary to curb the Jews with the Mosaic law. These legal observances did not confer righteousness and were abolished, but the decalogue remains ever in force.

The Levitical sacrifices were not made because God needed them; nor is the eucharistic sacrifice.<sup>18</sup> The earthly is figurative of the spiritual sacrifice; but things spiritual can not be typical of things beyond; nor is God but the type of a superior being.

Our faith was prefigured in Abraham; for Christ did not come for the men of one age, but for the righteous men of all time. The prophetic writings prepared the way of the apostles; hence the conversion of the Gentiles is more difficult than the conversion of the Jews. Abraham, however,

prefigured both covenants, as did also the labor of Tamar.

Christ is the treasure hid in Scripture, of which the presbyters in true succession<sup>19</sup> are the expositors. The sins of the ancients, to whom Christ descended beneath the earth to preach,<sup>20</sup> are recorded for our admonition. Christ's words of judgment.<sup>21</sup> We should not condemn actions of the ancients not condemned by Scripture, e. g., the incest of Lot, which was typical.

A presbyter, who was a disciple of the apostles, maintained that the two covenants were from one God. A spiritual man shall judge heretics, but shall not himself be judged, having a complete faith;<sup>22</sup> he will also, having true knowledge,<sup>23</sup> rightly interpret the prophets. That the latter were from Him who sent the Son is proved by various parables.

Men are free agents and not made by nature, some good, some bad.<sup>24</sup> They were not created perfect, for it was needful that his true nature should appear to man, and that he should be made in the image of God, after receiving the knowledge of good and evil. This is gained through endowment and experience, profiting by which men become perfect. Fit habitations are prepared for the obedient and the disobedient. The latter are children of the devil, but not by nature.

*Book Five.—Closing Argument from Scripture.*

We are so redeemed, through the Word, "that neither justice should be infringed upon, nor the ancient handiwork of God go to destruction." Christ did actually come in the flesh. The salvation of the flesh is argued from our redemption "by the blood" of Christ, and from the flesh receiving eternal life from the eucharist.<sup>25</sup> God's power to raise the flesh is shown. If this temporal life can

vivify the flesh, much more can the life eternal. The Scripture argument. The saved man is a complete man, and so consists of body, soul, and spirit<sup>26</sup> (1 Thess. v, 23). The "mortal bodies" of Rom. viii, 11 must refer to the flesh. Men do now receive a portion of God's Spirit, preparing them for incorruption. "Flesh and blood," i. e., mere flesh and blood, without the spirit, "can not inherit the kingdom of God." The breath of life animating the flesh is temporal, but the vivifying spirit is eternal. In the dead raised by Christ we have proof of the resurrection. If fleshly hearts are here partakers of the spirit (2 Cor. iii, 3), why not in the resurrection? Argument is here made for the resurrection of the flesh from Christ's becoming actual flesh; also from the prophecies.

The Lord has restored us to the friendship of the Creator, through incarnation as the Mediator, propitiating the Father for us, canceling our disobedience by his obedience.<sup>27</sup> God, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit,<sup>28</sup> being over all and the Creator of all, Christ "came unto his own." The disobedience of the virgin Eve was counterbalanced by the obedience of the Virgin Mary.—The heretics being later than the bishops, we should flee to the Church.—Christ, being born of a woman, recapitulated in himself the ancient enmity against the serpent, and so overcame him fairly.

The victory was gained in the forty days' temptation, thus redeeming man from captivity to Satan.<sup>29</sup> Christ's use of Scripture and Satan's falsehood are set forth. Man did die, as had been threatened, on the sixth day of creation, which was, perhaps, a thousand years.

The fraud, pride, and tyranny of Antichrist are shown, as set forth by Paul, Daniel, and John. In the judgment, Christ will separate between the believers and unbelievers, granting to the former com-

munion with God, which is life, inflicting upon the latter separation from God, which is death, and which was before chosen by themselves. The apostasy in the time of Antichrist, and the end of the world, as set forth in the Apocalypse, are here noted.<sup>30</sup> After Antichrist, the Lord will come in the clouds.

The dead are to remain in the intermediate place, whither Christ went for three days,<sup>31</sup> until the resurrection, when they shall receive their bodies in glory.\* Here in the earth, where they have served and suffered, the saints shall reign. The millenarian argument from Christ's words, and Papias' account of the millennium are given. The prophecies are not to be interpreted allegorically but literally.<sup>32</sup> The earth is not to be annihilated, but only the present fashion of it passes away. There will be gradations of rank in the heavenly kingdom, and suitable mansions for each. All things are at the last to be subdued unto the Father, "that God may be all in all."

#### EXTRACTS FROM BOOKS AGAINST HERESY.

I. "Each of these is masculino-feminine, thus: First of all the First-Father was united by conjunction with his Thought; then the Only-Begotten, that is Intelligence, with Truth; then Word with Life and Man with Church. These Æons, being sent forth for the glory of the Father, and desiring of their own accord to honor the Father, sent forth emissions by conjunction. Word and Life, besides Man and Church, sent forth ten other Æons whose names they say are these: The Deep and Mingling, the Undecaying and Union, the Self-Existent and

\* From this point many manuscripts are wanting, probably on account of the anti-millenarian views of copyists.

Pleasure, the Immovable and Blending, the Only-Begotten and Happiness. These are the ten Æons which they say were sent forth from Word and Life. Man himself, also, with Church, sent forth twelve Æons, to whom they assigned these names: Advocate and Faith, the Paternal and Hope, the Maternal and Love, the Eternal and Understanding, the Ecclesiastical and Bliss, the Wished-for and Wisdom." (I, i, 1, 2.)

2. "In this respect they do like those who propound such theories as occur to them, and then attempt to declaim them out of the poems of Homer, so that the ignorant suppose that Homer composed verses upon this newly declaimed hypothesis, and many are carried away with the feigned sequence of the verses to doubt whether Homer may not have composed them in this form. . . . Such is the passage in which, out of the Homeric verses, one writes as follows concerning Hercules, sent by Eurystheus to the dog in the infernal regions :

"So speaking, forth went from his house, with groans full deep.—Od., 10, 76.

"The hero Hercules, practiced in mighty deeds.—Od., 21, 26.

"Eurystheus, son of Sthenelus, from Perseus sprung.—Il., 19, 123.

"From Erebus to bring the dog of Pluto feared.—Il., 8, 368.

"He went like lion mountain-fed, on strength reliant.—Od., 6, 130.

"The city tearing through ; while followed all his friends.—Il., 24, 327.

"Both maids and youths and aged men who've much endured.—Od., 11, 38.

"Bewailing him most sore, as going on to death.—Il., 24, 328.

"But Mercury led him, and Minerva, piercing-eyed.—Od., 11, 625.

"For of her brother's mind she knew, how worn with grief.—Il., 2, 409." (I, ix, 4.)

3. "The Church, although scattered through the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith: In one God the Father Almighty, who made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things therein; and in one Christ Jesus the Son of God, who was made flesh for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, who through the prophets preached the dispensations and the advents, and the birth from a virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the bodily assumption into heaven of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord, and his appearing from heaven in the glory of the Father to gather all things together in one, and to raise up all flesh of all mankind, in order that to Christ Jesus our Lord and God and Saviour and King, according to the pleasure of the Father invisible, every knee should bow of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth, and every tongue should confess to him, and that he should execute righteous judgment upon all: that he may send the spirits of wickedness, and the angels who transgressed and became apostates, and the godless, and unrighteous and lawless and blasphemous among men, into eternal fire; but, conferring life, may bestow immortality upon the righteous and holy, and such as have kept his commandments, and have persevered in his love, some from the beginning, some from their repentance, and may surround them with eternal glory." (I, x, 1.)

4. "There is nothing, therefore, to prevent any one else from using such terms as these, in regard to this subject: There is a certain First Beginning, royal, before all inconceivable, a power before all irresistible, before all extended. But with this there is a power which I call *Gourd*, and with this *Gourd* is a power which I further call *Utter-Inanity*. This *Gourd* and *Utter-Inanity*, since they are



one, produced yet did not send forth a fruit everywhere visible, eatable, and delicious, which fruit-language names *Cucumber*. With this *Cucumber* there exists a power of the same nature, which I again call *Melon*. These powers, *Gourd*, and *Utter-Inanity*, and *Cucumber*, and *Melon*, produce the remaining multitude of *Valentine's delirious melons*." (I, xi, 4.)

5. "And that this class has been subjected by Satan to a denial of the baptism, which is regeneration unto God, and to a renunciation of the whole faith, we shall show in the proper place as we refute them." (I, xxi, 1.) (Compare with this the following:) "And again, giving to the disciples the power of regeneration unto God, he said to them, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'" (III, xvii, 1.)

6. "For since his invisible essence is powerful, it gives to all a profound mental intuition and perception of his most powerful, even all-powerful greatness. Wherefore, although 'no one knows the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, and those to whom the Son will reveal him,' still all [beings] do know this very thing, since reason, implanted in their minds, moves them, and reveals to them that there is one God the Lord of all." (II, vi, 1.)

7. "Much more truly and agreeably has *Antiphanes*, one of the old comic poets, in his *Theogony*, spoken of the beginning of all things. For he speaks of *Chaos* as sprung from *Night* and *Silence*; then, as from *Chaos* and *Night*, of *Love*; and as from this of *Light*, and afterward, according to him, [came] the remaining first generation of the gods. After these, again, he introduces a second generation of gods, and the creation of the world; then he narrates the formation of mankind by the secondary

gods. . . . Again, appropriating their 'shade' and 'vacuity' from Democritus and Epicurus, they have adapted them for themselves. . . . And further, this dictum of theirs, that the Creator formed the world out of matter assumed to exist, Anaxagoras and Empedocles pronounced before them. . . . Moreover, in what they say of the Saviour being made by all the Æons, each depositing in him, so to speak, his own special flower, they set forth nothing new beyond the Pandora of Hesiod." (II, xiv, 1, 3, 4, 5.)

8. "Therefore, being a master, he also possessed the age of a master, not despising nor passing over what pertains to man, nor abrogating in himself his own law for the human race; but sanctifying every age by that similitude to it which was in himself. For he came to save all through himself—all, I say, who through him are born again unto God—infants and children, and boys, and young men, and old men. Therefore, he passed through every age, becoming an infant for infants, thus sanctifying infants; a child for children, sanctifying those of this age, at the same time being made an example to them of piety, and righteousness, and submission; a young man for young men, becoming an example to young men and sanctifying them for the Lord. So also he was an old man for old men, that he might be a perfect master unto all. . . . Now, that the period of thirty years is the first stage of young manhood, and that this extends to the fortieth year, all will admit; but from the fortieth and fiftieth year the man declines toward old age, arrived at which our Lord was [still] teaching, as the gospel and all the elders testify; those who in Asia gathered around John the disciple of the Lord, [affirming] that John had handed this down to them. And he remained with them to the times of Trajan. Moreover, some of them saw not only John, but

also other apostles, and heard these same things from them, and testify of a like report. . . .\* He did not fall much short of fifty years, and for this reason they said to him, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?' (II, xxii, 4, 5, 6.)

9. "Some have foreknowledge of things to come, and see visions, and speak prophetic words. Others by the laying on of hands heal the sick, and they are restored to health. Indeed, as I have said, even the dead have been raised up and remained with us many years. And what more? It is not possible to tell the number of the gifts which, throughout the whole world, the Church, receiving from God in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, bestows every day for the welfare of the Gentiles, not deceiving any nor turning [their gifts] into money. For as she has received freely from God, she also ministers freely.

"Nor does she perform anything through the invocation of angels, nor by incantations, nor by any other wicked, curious act; but, directing her prayers in a pure, sincere, and straightforward spirit to the Lord who made all things, and invoking the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, she has been accustomed to work miracles for the advantage of men, and not to lead them astray." (II, xxxii, 4, 5.)

10. "And again he [the Spirit] speaks thus concerning man's salvation: 'He asked life of thee, and thou gavest him length of days for ever and ever'; as if the Father of all imparts continuance for ever and ever to those who are saved. For life does not arise from us, nor from our nature, but it is given according to the grace of God. And, therefore, he who shall preserve the gift of life, and shall give thanks to him who bestowed it, shall receive

\* Notice that this is not given as a universally received tradition.

also length of days for ever and ever. But he who shall cast it away, and shall prove ungrateful to his Maker for having been created, and shall not recognize him who bestows [the gift], deprives himself of continuance for ever and ever." (II, xxxiv, 3.)

II. "We have not learned the plan of our salvation from any others than those through whom the gospel has come to us; which they once publicly proclaimed, and afterward, by the will of God, transmitted to us in the Scriptures, to be the ground and pillar of our faith. For it is not right to say that they preached before they had perfect knowledge, as some venture to assert, boasting themselves to be amenders of the apostles. For, after that our Lord rose from the dead, and they were endued with the power from on high of the Holy Ghost which came upon them, were filled from all [these gifts], and had perfect knowledge: they who, indeed, were all equally and individually possessed of the gospel of God, went forth to the ends of the earth, preaching the gospel of good things which have come to us from God, and announcing the peace of heaven to men. Matthew, then, published among the Hebrews a written gospel, in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel at Rome, and laying the foundations of the Church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did himself transmit to us in writing what had been announced by Peter. Luke, also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel which was preached by him. Afterward, John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reclined upon his breast, himself published a gospel while dwelling at Ephesus in Asia. All these have handed down to us that there is one God, Maker of heaven and earth, announced by the law and the prophets, and one Christ, the Son of God. To which things, if any one does not assent, he de-

spises the companions of the Lord; nay, he also despises Christ, himself the Lord; he even despises the Father, and stands self-condemned, resisting and opposing his own salvation, as do all heretics." (III, i, 1, 2.)

12. "But since it would be very tedious in such a volume as this to enumerate the successions of all the churches, by pointing out that tradition derived from the apostles of the very great and very ancient and universally known church established and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul, as well as the faith announced to mankind which comes down even to us through the succession of the bishops, we shall confound all those who, in whatsoever manner, whether from self-complacency or from vainglory or from blindness and perverse opinions, assemble beyond where it is fitting. With this church, on account of its more distinguished precedence, it is unavoidable that there should be an agreement on the part of all the churches—that is, of believers everywhere, wherein the tradition emanating from the apostles has been preserved by believers everywhere. The blessed apostles, then, upon founding and erecting the church, committed the office of administering the church to Linus. Of this Linus, Paul speaks in the Epistle to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus; and after him, in the third place from the apostles, Clement received the bishopric, who also, having seen the blessed apostles, and having been conversant with them, still had their preaching ringing in his ears and their tradition before his eyes. . . . To this Clement succeeded Evaristus; and to Evaristus Alexander; then, the sixth from the apostles, Sixtus was appointed; and after him Telesphorus, who also suffered martyrdom gloriously; next Hyginus; then Pius; after whom was Anicetus. Soter having succeeded Anicetus,

Eleutherius now occupies the inheritance of the bishopric, in the twelfth place from the apostles." (III, iii, 2, 3.)

13. "Since, therefore, there is so much proof, it is not necessary to seek among others the truth which it is easy to obtain from the church, since the apostles, as a rich man [deposits money] in a bank, have contributed to her most plentifully all things which pertain to the truth; so that every man, whosoever will, may draw from her the water of life. For she is the entrance to life; all others are thieves and robbers." (III, iv, 1.)

14. "Such, indeed, is the strength [of position] in respect to the gospels, that the very heretics bear testimony to them, and each one drawing from them seeks to confirm his own doctrine. . . . Neither is it fitting that the gospels be more in number than they are, nor yet fewer. For since there are four zones of the world in which we dwell, and four universal winds; and the church is scattered throughout the world, and the pillar and ground of the church is the gospel and the spirit of life; it is fitting that she should have four pillars, everywhere breathing out immortality and giving to men fresh life. From which it is manifest that the Word, the Maker of all, who sitteth upon the cherubim, and contains all things, being revealed to men, has given to us the gospel fourfold, yet bound together by one spirit." (III, xi, 7, 8.)

15. "God was therefore magnanimous to fallen man, foreseeing the victory which should be rendered to him through the Word. . . . The magnanimity of God, therefore, was for this: that man, passing through all things and obtaining the knowledge of moral discipline, then coming to the resurrection of the dead and learning by experience the source of his deliverance, may ever remain grateful to the Lord, having received from him the gift of

incorruptibility, that he might love him the more—for he to whom more is forgiven loves the more—that he may know himself, that he is mortal and infirm; that he may, on the other hand, know God, that he is immortal and powerful to such degree that he may confer immortality upon what is mortal, and eternity upon what is temporal; that he may know, too, all the other attributes of God, displayed toward himself, instructed by which he may think respecting God, how great is God!" (III, xx, 2.)

16. "... that well-grounded system which tends to man's salvation, namely, our faith, which, received from the church, we hold, and which always, through the Spirit of God, renews its youth, like some extraordinary deposit in an excellent vessel, and causes the very vessel in which it is to renew its youth. For this gift of God has been intrusted to the church to the end that all the members sharing in it should be vivified; and in it rests the power of communion with Christ—that is, the Holy Spirit, the earnest of incorruption, and the means of confirming our faith, and the ladder of ascent unto God. 'For, in the church,' it is said, 'God hath set apostles, prophets, teachers, and every other [means of] working of the Spirit, of which all those are not partakers who do not gather to the church, but defraud themselves of life through their evil opinions and infamous conduct. For where the church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the church, and every kind of grace; but the Spirit is truth.'" (III, xxiv, 1.)

17. "For God, at first indeed admonishing them through natural precepts, which from the beginning he had implanted in men, that is, through the decalogue (which if any one obey not he shall not have salvation), required of them nothing more." (IV, xv, 1.)

18. "But again, instructing his disciples to offer to God the first-fruits of his creatures, not as to one in need, but that they themselves might be neither unfruitful nor ungrateful, he took bread, which is a thing created, and gave thanks, saying, 'This is my body.' In a like manner, the cup, which is a part of that creation to which we belong, he confessed to be his blood, and he taught the new oblation of the new covenant." (IV, xvii, 5.) "For it is fitting to make an oblation unto God, and in all things to be found grateful to God, our Maker, offering the first-fruits of those creatures which are his, in a pure mind, and in faith without hypocrisy, in steadfast hope, in fervent love. And this pure oblation the church alone renders to the Creator, offering to him of his own creatures, with giving of thanks. . . . How, again, do they say that the flesh which is nourished by the body of the Lord, and by his blood, goes to corruption, and does not obtain life? Therefore, either let them change their opinion, or abstain from offering the things which have been mentioned. Our opinion, however, is in harmony with the eucharist, and the eucharist again confirms our opinion. For we offer to him his own, affirming consistently the fellowship and concord of the flesh and the Spirit. For as the bread, which is from the earth, receiving the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly; so, also, our bodies, receiving the eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity." (IV, xviii, 4, 5.)

19. "Wherefore it is fitting to obey the presbyters who are in the church, those who have the succession from the apostles, as we have shown; who, with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of the truth, according to the pleasure of the Father; but to hold in suspicion the rest



who depart from the primitive succession, and assemble in any place whatsoever, either as heretics and of a perverse opinion, or as schismatics, puffed up and self-pleasing, or again as hypocrites, doing this for the sake of advantage and of vainglory. For all these have fallen away from the truth." (IV, xxvi, 2.)

20. "And on this account the Lord descended into the regions beneath the earth, preaching his advent to them also, the remission of sins accruing to those who believe in him. For all believed in him who had hope in him—that is, who proclaimed his advent, and submitted to his dispensations—the righteous men and prophets and patriarchs, to whom, the same as to us, he remitted sins, which we ought not to impute to them, lest we despise the grace of God." (IV, xxvii, 2.)

21. "So also the punishment of those who do not believe in the Word of God, and despise his advent and are turned away backward, is increased; it is made not merely temporal but eternal. For to whomsoever the Lord shall say, 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire,' they shall be damned for ever; and to whomsoever he shall say, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from eternity,' these receive the kingdom for ever, and make advance in it." (IV, xxviii, 2.)

22. "For to him all things are consistent: he has a full faith in one God Almighty from whom are all things; and in one Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom are all things, and in the dispensation concerning him by which the Son of God became man; and an abiding trust in the Spirit of God, who furnishes the knowledge of the truth, who has set forth the dispensations of the Father and the Son, in virtue of which he dwells with every generation of men, according to the will of the Father." (IV, xxxiii, 7.)

23. "True knowledge is the doctrine of the apostles, and the ancient constitution of the church throughout all the world; and the true impress of the body of Christ, according to the successions of the bishops, by which they have handed down that church which is in every place; which [knowledge] has come to us, preserved without any forging of writings, as a most complete system, neither receiving addition nor abatement; and [it consists in] reading without falsification, and a lawful and diligent exposition in harmony with the Scriptures, without peril and without blasphemy; and [it consists in] the extraordinary gift of love, which is more precious than knowledge, more glorious even than prophecy, being indeed preëminent above all other gifts." (IV, xxxiii, 8.)

24. "That expression, 'How often would I have gathered thy children together and thou wouldest not!' set forth the ancient law of man's liberty, since God made him free from the beginning. . . . But if some had been made by nature bad and some good, the latter, being good, would not be praiseworthy, for so they were created; nor would the former be blameworthy, having been made thus. But since all are of the same nature, able both to hold fast and to practice the good, able again to cast it away and not to do it; some are justly praised by men who are subject to good laws—much more by God—and receive worthy testimony of their choice of good in general and of their perseverance; while some are accused, and receive worthy condemnation for their rejection of what is fair and good." (IV, xxxvii, 1, 2.)

25. "Since, then, the mingled cup and the manufactured bread receive the Word of God, and the eucharist becomes the body of Christ, from which the substance of our flesh increases and is sustained, how do they say that the flesh is not ca-

pable of receiving the gift of God which is eternal life, which [flesh] is nourished from the body and blood of the Lord, and is a member of him?" (V, ii, 3.)

26. ". . . Not considering that there are three things of which, as we have shown, the perfect man consists—flesh, soul, and spirit; one which preserves and fashions [the man], which is the spirit; another which is united and formed, that is the flesh; but [as to] that which is between these two, that is the soul, which sometimes, indeed, following the spirit, is raised by it, but sometimes, yielding to the flesh, it falls into carnal lusts." (V, ix, 1.)

27. "And on this account the Lord restored us to friendship, through his own incarnation, being made a Mediator between man and God; propitiating for us, indeed, the Father, against whom we had sinned, and canceling our disobedience by his obedience; granting to us also fellowship with, and subjection to, our Maker." (V, xvii, 1.)

28. "The Father, indeed, is over all, and he is the head of Christ; and the Word is through all, and he is the head of the church; while in us all is the Spirit, and he is the living water, which the Lord grants to those who rightly believe in him, and love him, and know that there is one God who is over all and through all and in us all." (V, xviii, 2.)

29. "For since in the beginning he [Satan] persuaded man to transgress the command of God, he, therefore, had him in his own power; but his power consists in transgression and apostasy, and with these he bound man: again it was necessary, on the other hand, that he, being conquered, should be bound by man himself, with the same chains with which he had bound man. . . . The Lord, therefore, exposing him as contrary in speech to that God who made all things, and subjecting him by

the commandment—the commandment is the law of God—the man also showing him to be a fugitive, and a transgressor of the law, and an apostate from God; then, afterward, the Word bound him securely, as his own fugitive, and stripped him of his goods, that is, of those men who were held captive by him, of whom he was making use unjustly. And justly, indeed, is he led captive who had led men captive unjustly; while man, who had before been led captive, is rescued from the power of his possessor, according to the tender mercy of God the Father.” (V, xxi, 3.)

30. “In as many days as the world was made, in so many thousand years will it come to an end. And for this reason the Scripture says: [quoting Gen. ii, 1, 2.] This is an account of the things formerly created, and a prophecy of what is to come. For the day of the Lord is as a thousand years; and in six days created things were finished: it is evident, therefore, that they will come to an end at the six thousandth year.” (V, xxviii, 3.)

31. “But now he [the Lord] dwelt for three days where the dead were, as the prophet says of him: ‘And the Lord remembered his dead saints who slept formerly in the land of sepulture; and he descended to them to rescue and save them.’” (V, xxxi, 1.)

32. “If, however, any shall attempt to allegorize [prophecies] of this kind, they can not be found consistent with themselves in all things, and will be confuted by the very expressions. [Citations from Isaiah, Baruch, Revelation, etc.] . . . But in a like manner the Lord says, ‘Earth and heaven shall pass away.’ When, therefore, these things pass away above the earth, John, the disciple of the Lord, says that the new Jerusalem above shall descend as a bride adorned for her husband; and this is the tabernacle of God, in which God shall

dwell with men. . . . And Moses received the patterns of this tabernacle in the mount; and nothing is able to be allegorized, but all things are firm and true and substantial, being made by God for the enjoyment of righteous men." (V, xxxv, 1, 2.)

## LETTER TO FLORINUS.

“These doctrines, Florinus, that I may speak very mildly, are not of sound understanding; these doctrines are not consistent with the church, and involve those who follow them in the greatest impiety; these doctrines not even the heretics out of the church ever ventured to assert; these doctrines those presbyters who were before us, and who were conversant with the apostles, did not hand down to thee. For when I was yet a boy I saw thee in Lower Asia with Polycarp, distinguishing thyself at court and endeavoring to gain his esteem. For I remember the events of those times better than those occurring lately (since the studies of our youth growing with our mind become incorporated with it); so that I am able to tell even the place in which the blessed Polycarp was accustomed to sit and discourse—also his going out and his coming in—and the complexion of his life, and the form of his body, together with the conversations which he held with the people; also how he would speak of his familiar intercourse with John, and with the rest of those who had seen the Lord; how also he used to recount their words. Whatsoever things he had heard from them concerning the Lord, also concerning his miracles and his teaching, Polycarp, as receiving them from the eye-witnesses of the Word of life, related all in harmony with the Scriptures. These things, through the mercy of God vouchsafed to me, I then heard, noting them down,

not upon paper but in my heart; and continually by the grace of God I recall these things accurately to my mind. And I am able to bear witness in the sight of God that if that blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard such a thing, he would have cried out and stopped his ears, exclaiming according to his custom, 'O good God, unto what times hast thou reserved me, that I should endure these things!' He would have fled from the place in which, sitting or standing, he had heard such words. From his epistles, too, which he wrote to the neighboring churches to confirm them, or to some of the brethren, to admonish or to exhort them, the same thing may be clearly shown."

#### SYNODICAL LETTER TO VICTOR OF ROME.

[Written by Irenæus, says Eusebius, "in the name of those brethren in Gaul over whom he presided."]

For not only is the controversy respecting the day, but also respecting the manner of fasting itself. For some think it necessary for them to fast one day, others two, others more, and still others forty. The diurnal and the nocturnal hours they compute alike as their day. And this diversity among observers has not sprung up just now in our times, but long ago, among those before us, who, ruling perhaps without strictness, established the custom for subsequent times according to their simplicity and private usage. None the less, however, did all these maintain peace, and we have peace with one another; and the very difference in our fasting establishes the oneness of our faith. . . . And those presbyters who governed the church before Soter, and over which you now preside—I mean Anicetus and Pius, Hyginus, with Telesphorus and Xystus—did not

themselves observe it, nor did they permit those with them to do so. And yet, though they themselves did not keep it, they were not the less in peace with those from dioceses where it was kept, whenever they came to them; although to keep it then was all the more in contrast with those who did not keep it. Neither did they cast off any at any time on account of the form. But those very presbyters before thee, who did not observe it, sent the eucharist to those of other dioceses who did. And when the blessed Polycarp was sojourning in Rome, in the time of Anicetus, and they had a little difference among themselves upon certain other matters, they immediately were reconciled, not wishing to contend with one another on this head. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe that which he had always observed with John the disciple of our Lord, and the rest of the apostles, with whom he had associated; nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, who said that he was bound to maintain the practice of the presbyters before him. And these things being so, they communed with one another; and in the church Anicetus, no doubt out of respect, yielded to Polycarp the office of consecrating; and they separated from one another in peace; all the church being at peace, both those who observed and those who did not.

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## HIPPOLYTUS.

A MIGHT, a myth, and again mighty, as an element in Roman ecclesiastical history. So we may characterize Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber. For, a Christian man of great

energy, of broad culture, of scriptural faith, of strict ideas as to doctrine and discipline, he lived at a critical period in the history of the Roman Church: at a time, namely, when the practical and traditional faith of the Romans was compelled by heretical teachers to formulate itself more scientifically, by an express enunciation of the doctrine of the Logos, which, though previously accepted, was until then left for consideration to the more speculative Greeks. As bishop of the neighboring church of Portus, Hippolytus was a member of the Roman presbytery; and he was conversant, not only with the numerous heresies that had prevailed and were then prevailing in the metropolis, but also with the interior life of the Roman Church itself. Hence the importance of his works, now that they are restored to us and to him. To *himself*, we say, for the reason that the name of Hippolytus had been so obscured for centuries that it was uncertain who he was or where he lived. Indeed, several Hippolytuses, none of them having the least claim to our attention, had been confounded with the historic "Bishop of the nations," who ministered at the port of Rome, where representatives of all the nations of the earth congregated. When, therefore, the great work, "The Refutation of all Heresies," discovered at Mount Athos in the year 1842, was published, it was ascribed to Origen and others, and only after prolonged and serious discussions was the true author called forth from obscurity to receive his rights. As soon as he was recognized as the writer of so valuable an addition to the patristic literature, the other works of Hippolytus became



more important ; and his name is now, perhaps, the most prominent of all connected with the Roman Church of the third century. For the recovery of this conspicuous personage, English readers are largely indebted to Baron Bunsen, who, however, as to his main conclusions, was in accord with such eminent authorities as Döllinger, Jacobi, Gieseler, etc. This long eclipse seems the more remarkable when we recall that in 1551 a very ancient (perhaps contemporary) statue of St. Hippolytus was found at Rome, inscribed with the name of his see, "Portuensis," and with the titles of various works of which he was known to be the author. The only reason to be assigned is the fact that Hippolytus ("Against Heresies," book ix) used language with respect to Callistus, Bishop of Rome, which, in the later years of the Roman Church, could not be tolerated in a bishop toward a pope.

The most active period of Hippolytus's life was during the bishoprics of Zephyrinus and Callistus (A. D. 197-222). Whether or not he was a Roman by birth, we do not know. He was a pupil of Iræneus—of whose book against heresies he makes large use in his own work—and became conversant with every department of Greek learning. He doubtless met and conversed with Origen, when the latter visited Rome in 211; Jerome says that he preached before him. But, while a Greek in erudition, he was a Roman in the practical use which he made of his learning. Bunsen happily suggests that he bears the same relation to Origen that Cicero bears to Plato. He was an exceptional Roman in having prepared and preached learned

homilies or sermons, which was not the custom at Rome prior to the time of Leo. His death, as a martyr, occurred about the year 238, he having previously been transported to Sardinia.

The extant writings of Hippolytus may be grouped as follows: 1. *Exegetical*.—Of this class we have fragments of considerable extent from commentaries upon Genesis, Numbers, Kings, the Psalms, Proverbs, the Song of Songs, the four major prophets, Matthew, and Luke. 2. *Historical*.—The one important historical work is the “Chronicle,” a book on chronology, preserved in a Latin translation dating from the time of Charlemagne. There is also found inscribed on the chair of Hippolytus’s statue a Paschal cycle computed by him. 3. *Controversial and Doctrinal*.—The great work of Hippolytus is “The Refutation of all Heresies,” already referred to. From quotations made therein from Basilides, we learn that that writer used the Gospel of John. We thus trace the fourth gospel back to the times of Trajan. Besides this work entire, we have a work “On Antichrist,” a “Homily against the Noëtian Heresy,” fragments of a treatise “Against Beron and Helix,” a “Discourse on the Holy Theophany” (probably), fragments of “The Little Labyrinth,” and a work “On Gifts,” all of which are referred to hereafter. In addition, there is a fragment “On the Substance of the Universe,” part of a “Demonstrative Address to the Jews,” and some other unimportant fragments.

The extracts have been corrected by, or translated from, the texts of Lagarde and of Bunsen.

## PRINCIPAL WORKS OF HIPPOLYTUS.

## THE REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

*Book I.*—Declaring it to be the duty of the successors of the apostles to expose the shameful mysteries of the heretics and to set forth the correct doctrine, the author indicates the need of the Holy Spirit to aid him in this work. He purposes to show that the heretics have derived their doctrines, not from Holy Scripture, but from the wisdom of the Greeks. In order to do this, he will undertake the laborious task of examining the systems of the philosophers. He then sets forth the doctrine of Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Archelaus, Parmenides, Leucippus, Democritus, Xenophanes, Ecphantus, and Hippo, whom he denominates physical speculators; of Socrates and Plato, who are called moral philosophers; and of Aristotle, the Stoics—Chrysippus and Zeno—Epicurus, the Academics, the Brahmans, the Druids, and Hesiod, the first two being classed as logicians.

*Books II and III.*—Both are lost, but are supposed to have treated of the doctrines and mysteries of the Egyptians, and of Chaldean science and astrology.

*Book IV.*—The Chaldean horoscope, also magical rites and incantations, are handled.

*Books V to IX.*—The doctrines and practices of the following thirty-two heretical sects are described: The *Naaseni*, who celebrated a serpent, and who ascribed their system to James, the Lord's

brother, through Mariamne, but really derived it from the Gentile mysteries. They propounded doctrines originated by Heraclitus, but set forth in a "gospel" ascribed to Thomas. The *Peratæ*, whose tritheistic system came from the Chaldean astrologers. The *Sethians*, the origin of whose insane dreamings is ascribed to the natural philosophers. *Justinus*, who was opposed to Scripture, and really pagan, and whose book, inscribed "Baruch," drew from the marvels of Herodotus. *Simon Magus*, whose system of a threefold emanation by pairs was expounded in his work, the "Great Announcement," and which derived its force through magicians and poets. *Valentinus*, who drew from Plato and Pythagoras, in constructing his system of emanations. *Secundus*, *Epiphanes*, and *Ptolemæus*, who propounded æonic systems. *Marcus*, an adept in sorcery, whose system of letters is traced to Pythagoras. *Colorbasus* is associated with Marcus as drawing from Pythagoras, but his doctrines are not set forth. *Basilides*, who, with his son Isidorus, claimed to derive truth from Matthias, but really drew from Aristotle; his doctrine of the Great Archon and of the Sonship; his testimony to John's Gospel.<sup>1</sup> *Saturnilus*, whose opinions were akin to Menander's. *Marcion*, whose dualistic ideas were suggested by Empedocles. *Prepon*, a Marcionite. *Carpocrates*, who asserted that souls must pass from body to body until they have committed all sins. *Cerinthus*, who taught that only Jesus, not the Christ, suffered. The *Ebionites*, who observed Jewish customs, and asserted that our Lord was only a man. *Theodotus* of Byzantium, who taught that the Christ came to Jesus at

his baptism. *Theodotus*, a banker, who held that a certain Melchisedec was greater than Christ. The *Nicolaitans*, reprov'd in the Apocalypse, and who inculcated indifference as to food and life. *Cerdo*, who denied that the God of Moses was the Father of Christ. *Apelles*, who received as prophetic revelations the sayings of one Philumene, and maintained that Christ was not born of a virgin, but formed from the substance of the universe. The *Docetæ*, who, drawing from the Greek sophists, taught the unreality of the body of Jesus nailed to the cross. *Monoïmus*, who drew from Pythagoras. *Tatian*, whose doctrine of æons resembled that of Valentinus, and who opposed marriage. *Hermogenes*, who followed Socrates, and held that God created out of previously existing matter. The *Quartodecimans*, who celebrate Easter on the fourteenth day of the first month. The *Phrygians*, who held Montanus to be a prophet, and Priscilla and Maximilla prophetesses, into whom had come the Paraclete. The *Encratites*, who, as ascetics, might rather be called cynics than Christians. The *Noëtians*, whose doctrines are of Heraclitic origin, and teach that the Father became the Son by submitting to generation. Callistus and Zephyrinus uphold these doctrines, whom, therefore, the author never ceased to oppose. The scandalous career of Callistus until he succeeded Zephyrinus in the bishopric of Rome, and his great laxity of discipline, are set forth. The *Elchesaites*, who, borrowing from Pythagoras, say that Christ has been frequently born before and since his advent; who also practiced incantations, and a second baptism for the remission

of all manner of iniquity. The tenets of the Jewish sects of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes are also set forth.

*Book X.*—After a recapitulation of the doctrines of the philosophers and the heretics, the author gives the doctrine of the truth.<sup>2</sup>

*Extracts from the Refutation.*

1. “And this, he (Basilides) says, is that which has been stated in the gospels: ‘He was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.’” (Book VII, chap. x.)

2. *Hippolytus’s Doctrine of the Truth.*—“The one God, the first and only, both Maker and Lord of all, had nothing coeval [with himself]—not infinite chaos, nor measureless water or solid earth; not thick air, or hot fire, or refined spirit; not the azure ceiling of the great heaven. But he was one alone by himself, who, willing it, called into being what had no being before, except when he willed to call it into being, having full knowledge of what was to be; for he has foreknowledge also. And he created first different elements of the things which were to be, fire and air, water and earth; out of which different elements he made his own creation, some being of one substance, while some he compounded of two, some of three, and some of four. And those which were of one are immortal; for they do not admit of dissolution. For what is simply one can not be dissolved; but that which consists of two or three or four elements is dissoluble, and therefore is also called mortal. For this has been termed death, namely, the dissolution of things compounded. . . .

“Now this sole and supreme God first by reflection begets the Word—not the word in the sense of speech, but as the indwelling reason of the uni-

verse. Him alone he begat out of things existing ; for that which was, was the Father himself, the being born of whom was the cause of all things produced. The Word was in him, bearing the will of him who had begotten him, being not unacquainted with the thoughts of the Father. For when he came forth from him who begat him, being his first-begotten speech, he had in himself the ideas conceived by the Father. When, therefore, the Father commanded that the world should be, the Word accomplished it in detail, pleasing God. Now, what was to multiply by generation, he made male and female ; but that which was to serve and minister [he made] either male, not wanting the female, or neither male nor female. For the first elements of these, which sprang from that which was not, fire and spirit, water and earth, are neither male nor female ; nor could male and female come out of any of them, except as far as the commanding God willed that the Word should accomplish it. I confess that the angels are of fire ; and they, I say, have no females. In like manner the sun and moon and stars, I conceive, are of fire and spirit, and are neither male nor female ; but from water have come, the Creator willing, swimming and flying animals, male and female, for so God ordered it, willing that the moist element should be generative. In like manner, out of the earth came creeping things and beasts, and males and females of all sorts of animals ; for this the nature of created things admitted of. For whatever he willed, God made. These things he made by the Word, nor could they be otherwise than as they were made. But when he had made them as he willed, calling them by names, he set [them] forth. After these he formed the ruler of all, whom he fashioned out of all composite substances. He did not intend to make him a god, and fail to do so, or an angel (be not misled), but a man. If he had

willed to make thee a god, he could have done so. Thou hast the example of the Word. Willing, however, to make thee a man, a man he made thee. But if thou wouldst become a god, be obedient to him who made thee, and transgress not now, in order that, having been found faithful in small things, thou mayst be trusted with great things.

“The Word of him is alone of him; wherefore he is God, being the substance of God. But the world is of nothing; therefore not God. It is also subject to dissolution, when he willeth who created it. But God the Creator did not make and does not make evil. He makes what is beautiful and good, for the Maker is good. But the man who was made was a free-willed creature, not having a dominant understanding, not governing all things by thought and authority and power, but a slave, and having all sorts of contraries in him. He, from being free-willed, generates evil, which becomes such by accident, being nothing if thou dost it not; for it is called evil from being willed and thought to be so, not being such from the beginning, but an after-birth. Man being thus free-willed, a law was laid down by God, not without need. For if man had not the power to will and not to will, why should a law have been established? For a law will not be laid down for an irrational being, but a bridle and a whip; but for man a command and penalty for the doing and not doing what is ordered. For him law was established by just men of olden time. In times nearer to us, a law was laid down, full of gravity and justice, by the forementioned Moses, a devout and God-loving man. But all these things are overruled by the Word of God, the only-begotten child of the Father, the light-bringing voice anterior to the morning star. Afterward there were just men, friends of God; these were called prophets, because they foretold the future. And the word [of prophecy] was



committed unto them not for one age [only]; but also the utterances of events predicted through all ages were vouchsafed in perfect clearness. They foretold the future, not then alone when they gave answer to those who were present, but through all ages, because, in speaking of things past, they reminded humanity of them; in explaining the present, they persuaded men not to be careless; by foretelling the future, they rendered every one alarmed, seeing things predicted long beforehand, and looking forward to the future.

“Such is our faith, O all ye men, (of men) who are not persuaded by vain sayings, who are not carried away by the impulses of our own hearts, nor seduced by the persuasiveness of eloquent speeches, but who are not disobedient to words spoken by divine power.

“These things God gave in charge to the Word. And the Word spake and uttered them, bringing man back by these very works from disobedience, not enslaving him through the force of necessity, but calling him to liberty of his own free accord. This Word the Father sent in after-times, no longer to speak through a prophet, not wishing that he should be guessed at from obscure announcements, but should be manifest to sight. Him, I say [he sent], that the world, seeing him, might revere him, not commanding them in the person of prophets, nor frightening the soul by an angel, but himself present and speaking to them. Him we have known to have taken his body from a virgin, and to have put on an old man through a new formation, having passed in his life through every age, that he might become a law for every age, and might by his presence exhibit his own humanity as an aim for all men; and might prove by the same that God has made nothing evil, and that man is free-willed, having the power both of willing and

not willing, being able to do either. Him we know to have been a man of our own composition. For, if he had not been of the same nature, in vain would he ordain that we are to imitate our Master. For, if that man were of a different substance, how can he bid me, born in weakness, to do like things? And how is he good and righteous? But that he might not be deemed other than we, he bore toil, and vouchsafed to hunger, and did not refuse to thirst, and rested in sleep, and did not resist suffering, and became obedient to death, and manifested his resurrection; offering up his humanity in all this, as the first fruits, that thou, when thou art suffering, mayst not despair, but, acknowledging thyself a man, mayst thyself expect what the Father granted to him.

“Such is the true doctrine about the Deity, O ye men, Greeks and barbarians, Chaldæans and Assyrians, Egyptians and Libyans, Indians and Ethiopians, Celts, and ye captains the Latins, and all ye who dwell in Europe, Asia, and Libya, to whom I am become a counselor, being a benevolent disciple of the benevolent Word, in order that, flocking to us, ye may be taught by us who is the true God and what is his well-ordered workmanship, and may not attend to the sophisms of artful reasonings, nor to the vain promises of delusive heretics, but to the grave simplicity of unadorned truth. By this knowledge ye will escape the approaching of the fire of judgment, and the dark, rayless eye of Tartarus, never illumined by the voice of the Word, and the turbulence of the ever-flowing lake of hellish fire, and the ever-fixed, threatening eye of the avenging angels of Tartarus, and the worm which winds itself round the foaming body to feed upon it. This thou wilt escape, having been taught to know the true God; and thou wilt have a body immortal, even incorruptible along with the soul, and

wilt receive the kingdom of heaven. Having lived on earth, and having known the heavenly King, thou wilt be a companion of God, and a fellow-heir with Christ, not subject to lust, or passion, or sickness. For thou hast become God. For whatever hardships thou hadst to suffer when a man, he gave them to thee because thou wast a man; but that which is proper to God, this God has promised to bestow upon thee, because thou hast been deified, begotten unto immortality. This is [the meaning of] "know thyself," to know God who has made thee. For to know one's self becomes him who is called by God to be known by him.

"Therefore, O men, be not your own enemies; and doubt not that you will exist again. For Christ is he whom the God of all has directed to wash away sin from mankind [so], renewing the old man, having called him his image from the beginning typically, showing forth his love to thee. If thou art obedient to his solemn behests, and becomest a good follower of him who is good, thou wilt become like him, honored by him. For God acts the beggar toward thee, having even made thee God unto his glory." \* (Book X, chaps. xxviii-xxx.)

#### TREATISE ON CHRIST AND ANTICHRIST.

After his great work, this is the longest writing of Hippolytus which has come down to us, but it is relatively of little importance. It consists chiefly of an exposition of the prophecies of Daniel and of the Apocalypse. The four kingdoms represented by the four parts of the great image, and the four

\* Bunsen conjectured that the second part of the "Epistle to Diognetus" (see Book I, p. 138) was the concluding part of this closing address of Hippolytus.

beasts in Daniel, are those of the Babylonians, the Persians, the Grecians, and the Romans. Antichrist, whose kingdom is represented by the beast coming out of the earth, seen by John, will in all things imitate the Christ. He will gather the dispersed people together at Jerusalem, will restore their nation, and will there build a temple of stone. He will also persecute the saints. After this manifestation, Christ will come in glory. Elsewhere—in his commentary on Daniel—Hippolytus fixes this consummation at A. D. 500.

#### HOMILY AGAINST THE NOETIAN HERESY.

Noëtus held that the Father was born and suffered; also that he himself was Moses. At his trial he said, "What evil, then, am I doing in glorifying Christ?" He was, however, expelled from the church. He quoted from Scripture only one class of passages, as Theodotus, on the other hand, quoted only those of an opposite character. Against these quotations Hippolytus cites such passages as 1 Cor. xv, 23-28, John xx, 17, and "I and my Father *are*"—not *is*—"one." Having stated his own conception of God as manifested in a threefold way,<sup>1</sup> the author declares that the truth concerning God is to be found in the Scriptures alone. God having nothing contemporaneous with him, existed alone, and yet "existed in plurality." He also made himself visible to the world through the Word.<sup>2</sup> While thus "another" appeared, there was but one God,<sup>3</sup> as all admit. After the citation of Isa. lxv, 1, and John i, 1-3, it is declared that "We accordingly see

the Word incarnate, and we know the Father by him, and we believe in the Son, and we worship the Holy Spirit." After comments on Jer. xxiii, 18, and Acts x, 36, in which he says that "the will of the Father is Jesus Christ," the author proceeds to a consideration of the Trinity.<sup>4</sup> Treating of the Son as the Word, he explains the significance of the sonship.<sup>5</sup> This incarnation of the Word is indeed incomprehensible; still, the Word "was manifested as God in a body, coming forth, too, as a perfect man." Declaring that "though thus demonstrated as God, he did not refuse the conditions proper to him as man," the homily closes with a striking passage upon the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Jesus, and upon the mighty works that attended his life and death.

*Extracts.*

1. "One is therefore compelled, even though unwilling, to acknowledge God the Father Almighty, and Christ Jesus the Son of God, who, being God, became man, to whom also the Father subjected all things, excepting himself and the Holy Spirit; and that these are really three. But if he wishes to learn how it is shown that there is one God, let him know that his power is one; and that as far as regards the power, God is one, but as far as regards the administration there is a threefold manifestation." (Sec. 8.)

2. "And as the Author of things made, and as Counselor and Executive, he begat the Word. . . . And, whereas he was visible formerly to himself alone, and invisible to the world which is made, he made him [the Word] visible, in order that the world, seeing him in his manifestation, might be capable of being saved." (Sec. 10.)

3. "And thus another was placed beside himself. But in saying another, I do not say that there are two Gods, but [that it is only] as light of light, or as water from a fountain, or as a ray from the sun. For there is but one power, which is from the All, and the Father is the All from whom cometh this power, the Word. And this is the mind which, coming forth into the world, was manifested as the Son of God. All things, then, are by him, and he alone is of the Father." (Sec. 11.)

4. "If, then, the Word was with God, being God, why, then, some one might say, dost thou speak of two Gods? I shall not, indeed, speak of two Gods, but of one; of two persons, however, and [for purposes of] administration, of a third, viz., the grace of the Holy Ghost. For the Father indeed is one, but there are two persons, because there is also the Son; and there is the third, the Holy Spirit. The Father decrees, the Word executes, and the Son is manifested, through whom the Father is believed on. In the administration, harmony is led back to one God; for God is One. It is the Father who commands, and the Son who obeys, and the Holy Spirit who gives understanding. The Father is above all, and the Son is through all, and the Holy Spirit is in all. And we can not otherwise think of one God, but by really believing in Father and Son and Holy Spirit. For the Jews glorified the Father, but gave him not thanks, for they did not recognize the Son. The disciples recognized the Son, but not in the Holy Ghost; wherefore they also denied him. The Word of the Father, therefore, knowing the administration and the will of the Father, to wit, that the Father seeks to be worshiped in none other way than this, gave charge to the disciples after he rose from the dead, saying, 'Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the

Holy Ghost'; showing thereby that whosoever omitted any one of these did not glorify God perfectly. For it is through this Trinity that the Father is glorified. For the Father willed, the Son executed, the Spirit manifested. The whole Scriptures, then, proclaim this truth." (Sec. 14.)

5. "What Son of his own, then, did God send through the flesh but the Word, whom he addressed as Son because he was to become such in the future? And he takes the common name for tender affection among men in being called the Son. For the Word, while yet unincarnate and by himself, was not perfect Son (although he was perfect Word, only-begotten). Nor could the flesh subsist by itself apart from the Word, because it had its subsistence in the Word. Thus, then, one perfect Son of God was manifested." (Sec. 15.)

#### AGAINST BERON AND HELIX, HERETICS.

This is a metaphysical discourse, opposing the doctrine of the fusion of the two natures of Christ. There are preserved to us eight fragments, of which the following is the eighth :

##### *Extract.*

"Into this error, then, have they been carried by wickedly believing that that divine energy was made the property of the flesh which was only manifested through the flesh in his miraculous actions; by which energy Christ, in so far as he is apprehended as God, having given existence to the universe, now holds it under his government. For they did not perceive that it is impossible for the energy of the divine nature to become the property of a being of a different nature apart from conversion; nor did they un-

derstand that that is not by any means the property of the flesh which is only manifested through it, and does not spring out of it according to nature; and yet the proof thereof was clear and evident to them. For I, by speaking with the tongue, and writing with the hand, reveal through both these one and the same thought of my intelligent soul, its energy being natural; by no sign showing it as springing naturally out of tongue or hand; nor yet [showing] even the spoken thought as belonging to them by virtue of its revelation by their means. For no intelligent person ever recognized tongue or hand as capable of thought, just as also no one ever [recognized] the perfectly holy flesh of God, in virtue of its assumption, and in virtue of the revelation of the divine energy through its medium, as becoming in nature creative. But one believing piously, confesses that, with a view to our salvation, and in order to connect the universe with unchangeableness, the Creator of all things, having incorporated with himself a rational soul, together with a sensible body, from the all-holy Mary, ever virgin, by an undefiled conception, without conversion, was made man in nature, but separate from wickedness: the same was perfect God [and the same was perfect man; the same was in nature at once perfect God and man\*]. In his Deity he wrought divine things through his all-holy flesh—such things, namely, as did not pertain to the flesh by nature, and in his humanity he suffered human things—such things, namely, as did not pertain to Deity by nature, by the upbearing of the Deity. He wrought nothing divine without the body, nor did the same do anything human without the participation of the Deity. He also preserved for himself a novel method by which he wrought [according to the manner of] both, while that which was natural to both remained

\* Perhaps a later addition.



unchanged; to the accrediting of his perfect incarnation, which is really genuine, and has nothing lacking in it. Beron, therefore, holding thus, as I have stated, confounding together in nature the Deity and the humanity of Christ in a single energy, and again separating them in person, subverts the life, not knowing that identical operation is indicative of the connatural identity only of connatural persons."

#### DISCOURSE ON THE HOLY THEOPHANY.

This is a beautiful baptismal sermon, in which, after celebrating the excellence of God's works—especially water, the dignity of which is enhanced by its relations to Christ—the contrast between the appearing of John and of Christ is set forth. After giving the address of John to Jesus and of Jesus to John, at the baptism, the blessed results of this baptism are adduced. The testimony of the Spirit and the voice, "This is my beloved Son," it is said, ratified the ancient utterance: "The voice of the Lord is on the waters, the God of glory thundereth; the Lord is upon many waters." We come into our inheritance by water and the Holy Ghost.<sup>1</sup> The discourse then identifies the Spirit;<sup>2</sup> and bids men to the adoption of God.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Extracts.*

I. "If, therefore, man has become immortal, he will also be God. And if he is made God by water and the Holy Spirit after the regeneration of the laver, he is found to be also joint heir with Christ after the resurrection from the dead. Wherefore I preach, saying: Come, all ye kindreds of the na-

tions, to the immortality of the baptism. I bring good tidings of life to you who are wasting [your lives] in the darkness of ignorance. Come into liberty from slavery, into a kingdom from tyranny, into incorruption from corruption. And how, saith one, shall we come? How? By water and the Holy Ghost. This is the water in conjunction with the Spirit, by which Paradise is watered, by which the earth is enriched, by which plants grow, by which animals multiply, and (to sum up the whole in a single word) by which man, being begotten again, is endued with life, in which Christ also was baptized, and in which the Spirit descended in the form of a dove." (Sec. 8.)

2. "This is the Spirit that at the beginning 'moved upon the face of the waters'; by whom the world moves; by whom creation consists, and all things have life; who also wrought mightily in the prophets, and descended in flight upon Christ. This is the Spirit that was given to the apostles in the form of fiery tongues. This is the Spirit that David sought when he said, 'Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.' Of this Spirit Gabriel also spoke to the Virgin, 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.' By this Spirit Peter spake that blessed word, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' By this Spirit the rock of the church was established. This is the Spirit, the Comforter, that is sent because of thee, that he may show thee [to be] a child of God." (Sec. 9.)

3. "Come, then, be begotten again, O man, into the adoption of God. [Quotation of Isa. i, 16-19.] Thou seest, beloved, how the prophet spake before-time of the purifying power of baptism. For he who comes down in faith to the laver of regeneration, renounces the devil, and joins himself to Christ;

he denies the enemy, and makes the confession that Christ is God; he puts off the bondage and puts on the adoption; he comes up from the baptism brilliant as the sun, flashing forth the beams of righteousness; and, chief of all, he returns a son of God and joint heir with Christ. To him be the glory and the power, together with his most holy and good and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to all the ages of the ages. Amen."

## HIPPOLYTUS ON GIFTS.

A treatise on this subject, which embraced a consideration of church ordinances, is in part preserved to us in a manuscript at Vienna, which embodies, in an abbreviated form, the eighth book of the Greek Apostolical Constitutions. The name of Hippolytus, thus attached to a work upon church ordinances, has also been coupled (under the form Abulides) with the Ethiopic and Coptic canons. How much, if any, of these works belongs to Hippolytus we do not know. That there were definitely formulated rules for the government of the churches in his times can not be doubted; and his zeal for the maintenance of discipline may have led to the coupling with his name of a disciplinary code which was the growth of a century after his day.

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TREATISE AGAINST THE HERESY OF ARTEMON; OR,  
THE LITTLE LABYRINTH.

In associating this treatise with Hippolytus, it must be explained that Eusebius, who preserved

the three fragments now extant, called it anonymous, and that Photius, upon hearsay, ascribed it to Caius. But Photius, who had the whole work, expressly says that the author, "at the end of the Labyrinth, bore testimony that the work 'On the Substance of the Universe' was his own." Now this latter work belongs, incontestably, to Hippolytus; hence the reasonable assurance with which the Labyrinth is assigned to Hippolytus. But Jerome identifies the treatise against the heresy of Artemon with the Labyrinth. Still, we only rank this as a probable work of our author. The first fragment is given entire, being of great importance in its bearing upon the theory, once propounded by Tübingen writers, of a radical change in the doctrine of the Roman Church toward the close of the second century.

*Extract.*

"For they [the heretics] say that all those of former times, and the apostles themselves, received and taught the things which these now declare, and that the truth of the preaching was preserved until the time of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop from Peter in Rome; but that from his successor, Zephyrinus, the truth was perverted. The assertion might perhaps be credible, if, in the first place, the Holy Scriptures were not against them. Besides, there are writings of certain brethren, older than the time of Victor, which they wrote against the heathen in behalf of the truth and against the then [prevailing] heresies. I speak of [the writings of] Justus and Miltiades and Tatian and Clement, and many others, in all which Christ is spoken of as divine. For who does not know of the books of Irenæus and Melito and the rest, which speak of

Christ as God and man? Then, all the psalms and hymns of the brethren, written from the beginning by the faithful, celebrate Christ, the Word of God, speaking of him as divine. How, then, is it possible, the ecclesiastical doctrine having been proclaimed so many years, that those until the times of Victor preached in such manner as they declare? And how are they not ashamed falsely to charge these things against Victor, knowing well that Victor excommunicated Theodotus the tanner, the leader and father of this atheistic apostasy, who first declared that Christ was a mere man? For if, as they say, Victor held to such things as their blasphemy teaches, why should he expel the author of this heresy?"

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### CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

By his books do we know him. We catch sight of the other two great teachers of Alexandria mingling with the world and taking an active part in the controversies of the Church, but Clement we can only trace as a scholar. We see him in an alcove of the Alexandrian Library, poring over its priceless volumes, regaling himself, as he says, with the sweetmeats of Greek learning; or again in his professor's chair at the Catechetical School, with hardly less scholarly surroundings. For, besides the advanced Christian students who wait upon his words—among them the young Origen—there are before him Greek philosophers, Neo-Platonist inquirers, who gather to hear what this Christian lecturer calls "Our Divine Philosophy."

When Titus Flavius Clemens was born we can not tell, nor whether at Athens or Alexandria. We only know of his earlier career, that it was that of an earnest, truth-seeking student, who before his conversion had made himself thoroughly familiar with the Greek literature and philosophy, and had, perhaps, been initiated into some of the heathen mysteries. Upon embracing Christianity, he sought instruction far and wide from the most distinguished teachers. "He with whom I last met," he says, "was the first in power; and having discovered him lying concealed in Egypt, I desisted from further search. For he was in truth a Sicilian bee, who, cropping the flowers of the prophetic and apostolic meadow, caused a pure knowledge to grow up in the minds of his hearers." This was, without doubt, Pantænus, the head of the Alexandrian Catechetical School, to whose position Clement succeeded not far from A. D. 190. While here, Clement was made a presbyter. His catechetical work was interrupted by the persecution under Severus, A. D. 202, which caused him to withdraw from Alexandria. We catch sight of him A. D. 211, when he is the bearer of a letter from Jerusalem to Antioch, in which Alexander writes to the Antiochians of Clement as "The blessed presbyter, a man virtuous and tried, whom ye know and will come to know completely, who, being here by the providence and guidance of the Ruler of all, strengthened and increased the Church of the Lord." As Alexander had been a pupil of Clement, it is conjectured that, on leaving Alexandria, the latter had visited him at his home in Cappadocia, and had accompanied him

to Jerusalem on his promotion to that see. Clement would seem to have ended his days here in the East, but the time, place, and circumstances of his decease are alike obscure.

He was distinctively the philosopher of the period, and indeed of the early church. The new faith had had numerous converts from the philosophic schools, and Clement belonged to that succession of men of whom Quadratus, and Justin, and Athenagoras, and Pantænus had been representatives; and yet he was a unique member of the order. We might say of Justin that he was as distinctively and entirely a Christian as he could be without ceasing to be a philosopher; and of Clement, that he was as thoroughly and devotedly a philosopher as he could be without ceasing to be a Christian. Justin was Hebraic in his philosophizings; Clement was Hellenic in his professions of faith. At the root of his "divine philosophy" lay the idea of a Christian *gnosis*, or higher knowledge, which so far transcended a simple *faith* that those possessing it became perfect, "of angelic rank," "divine," "God-bearing, and God-borne." True, faith was essential as a foundation for this knowledge; but the mere believer must remain of low rank in the kingdom of God. Any such believer, however, might by his own choice, through instruction and meditation, attain to knowledge. Such instruction was to come primarily from the Divine Word; but everything in the range of human learning was to be welcomed as coöperating with Him. For Clement gratefully acknowledged truth wherever found, whether among heathens or heretics. His "Miscellanies"

is a very storehouse of literary treasures, containing quotations from more than a hundred Greek authors, such as could only have been made with a library at hand. His eager devotion to intellectual pursuits may have made him less sensible of some of the humbler aspects of Christianity; and yet there is in all that he says a sincere and devout tone, as of one truly consecrated to the service of Christ. It should be observed, too, that while constantly confirming his propositions from the Greek writers, he ever turns for a final appeal to the Scriptures; and that the beginning and end of all his inquiries and meditations is the Eternal Son.

There are extant of Clement's writings three principal works, which together make a systematic whole: the "Exhortation to the Heathen," the "Instructor," and the "Miscellanies." These are all given hereafter in outline. We have also a discourse entitled "Who is the Rich Man who is Saved?" Of Clement's lost works, the principal was the "Hypotyposis," a commentary on all the Scripture books. It was from reading Photius's description of this book as marked by impiety—a description now deemed very unjust—that Benedict XIV struck Clement's name out of the Roman calendar. All the early writers had deservedly spoken of him in terms of highest praise. That his philosophy was not inconsistent with a spirit of simple and devout trust in Christ, is proved by the fervent tone of his hymn to Christ the Saviour.



## CLEMENT'S CHIEF WORKS.

## EXHORTATION TO THE HEATHEN.

THE author declares that, leaving the poets with their myths<sup>1</sup> and hymns on Cithæron and Helicon, he devotes himself to the truth set forth in the New Song, which is the manifestation of the Word for the salvation of us who were lost, and which alone has "tamed men, the most savage of beasts." Let us run to this Saviour, the cause of our being and of our well-being, who now exhorts us in many tones of voice. The heathen mysteries are full of impostures, and the gods—manufactured by men—are shameless and corrupt, as the examples here given from the Greek mythology prove. The human sacrifices to these gods were most cruel; the worship of their images was senseless. The philosophers, though discarding images, deify the elements. And yet, through divine inspiration, the philosophers did attain to some truth concerning the true God; for example, Plato,<sup>2</sup> Antisthenes, and Xenophon, disciples of Socrates; also Cleanthes the Stoic, as well as the Pythagoreans. The poets, too, reveal truth; as Aratus, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripides, Orpheus, and Homer.

The Scriptures, however, though devoid of outward beauty of diction, are "the short road to salvation," Jeremiah and Isaiah giving the true doctrine of God. God, by the voice of the divine Word, is calling after men with surpassing love. "Oh! the prodigious folly of being ashamed of the Lord!" Let men secure eternal salvation—regeneration, of more value than Pactolus, as the Scripture exhorts: "Taste and see that Christ is God." "Come hither, O children, listen to me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord." If it is said that

we should not forsake the customs of our fathers, we ask, should we not leave the milk of infancy for the meat of manhood? Leaving superstition, "let us then openly strip for the contest, and nobly strive in the arena of truth, the holy Word being the judge, and the Lord of the universe prescribing the contest. For no insignificant prize is the immortality which is set before us." Practice husbandry, sail the seas, and at the same time "know God." "A noble hymn of God is an immortal man established in righteousness." Be wise, and enter on the practice of piety. "Let the Athenian follow the laws of Solon; the Argive those of Phoroneus; the Spartan those of Lycurgus; but, if you enroll yourself among the citizens of God, heaven is your country, and God your law-giver." Contemplate the divine beneficence; man, once bound, is set free.<sup>3</sup> Having Christ, one need not go to Greece or Ionia for instruction, having already all. Then "receive Christ, receive sight, receive thy light, receive God's laws." "Let us render to him the grateful recompense of a thankful heart and of piety, as a kind of house-rent for our dwelling here below." Let all leave pleasure and divination, and let us haste to take on the yoke of Christ and love him.

All things are God's, and so, by man's becoming his friend, all things become man's. The pious Christian only becomes God's image, and also his likeness, having become righteous and holy and wise by Jesus Christ, and so far already like God.

#### EXTRACTS FROM EXHORTATION.

1. The myth of Eunomus the Locrian and the Pythic grasshopper:—"A solemn assembly of the Greeks had convened at Pytho, on account of the

death of the serpent, when Eunomus sang the snake's epitaph. Eunomus was playing the lyre, it being summer time, when the grasshoppers were chirping under the leaves along the hills, warmed by the sun; but they were singing not to the dragon who was dead, but to God the Allwise—a free song, better than the numbered strains of Eunomus. A string of the Locrian breaks. The grasshopper flew upon the cross-bar, and chirruped on the instrument as on a branch; and the ode, chording with the lay of the grasshopper, made up for the missing string." (Chap. 1.)

2. "For we do not, if you please, wholly reject Plato. How, then, must one trace out God, O Plato? 'For it is difficult to find out the Maker and Father of this universe; and, found out, it is impossible fully to declare him.' Why, forsooth? by himself, I ask. Since he is in no wise to be expressed. Well said, O Plato! thou hast touched the truth. But do not flag; take up with me the inquiry concerning the good. For a certain divine effluence has been distilled upon all mankind, but chiefly upon those who are occupied with rational inquiries; on which account, though reluctantly, they confess that God is one, imperishable, and unbegotten, and that somewhere above, in the tracts of heaven, as in his own peculiar high-place of vision, he actually and eternally exists." (Chap. 6.)

3. "The first man when in Paradise sported free, since he was a child of God; but, when he yielded to pleasure (for the serpent allegorically signifies pleasure crawling on its belly, earthly wickedness nourished for fuel), he was beguiled by lusts as a child, and grew old in disobedience. Man, free through simplicity, was found bound to sins. The Lord, then, wished to loose him from his bonds, and being bound in the flesh—O divine mystery!—overcame the serpent and enslaved the

tyrant death; and, most wonderful, he set forth free, his hands unbound, the man who had been deceived by pleasure, bound to corruption." (Chap. II.)

#### THE INSTRUCTOR.

*Book One.*—The aim of "The Instructor"<sup>1</sup> is to train the soul to a virtuous, not to an intellectual life. We are to assimilate our souls to him—he, the Word, being "the only Pæonian physician of human infirmities," who cures from sin by his exhortations. Man is God's workmanship, and, being lovable, is loved by him, which love is to be returned in obedience. This virtue and faith are the same to man and woman, the name man including both. The instructed are children of God, yet not childish;<sup>2</sup> they have that "eternal adjustment of the vision, which is able to see the eternal light"; and this vision comes through the baptism of the Word. It may come to all, since there are not, in the Word, some "illuminated" and some mere "animal" men. Milk, which is a perfect nourishment, is figuratively represented by the Lord's blood, by which we are redeemed. Our instruction<sup>3</sup> is from the Word who wrestled with Jacob, and was the teacher of Moses. God hates nothing that he makes, and much more does the Word love man, notwithstanding that punishments are visited on him. He who bids us to pray for our enemies does not take revenge, but administers rebuke, which is "the medicine of the divine love to man, by which the blush of modesty breaks forth, and shame at sin supervenes." His discipline is by means of admonition, upbraiding, complaint, invective, reproof, censure, visitation, denunciation, accusation, bewailing, abjuration, and indignation. He also dissuades from evil by encouragements.

The Word, of old, instructed by Moses and the prophets; but he himself draws for us the model of a true life,<sup>4</sup> imparts dignity to our common acts, becomes our Saviour. Whatever is contrary to reason is sin, as also "obedience to reason—the Word—which we call faith, will of necessity be the efficacious cause of duty. . . . Christian conduct is the operation of the rational soul in accordance with a correct judgment. . . . Virtue is a will in conformity to God and Christ in life, rightly adjusted to life everlasting."

*Book Two.*—Instruction is given upon various practical subjects. As to eating, it is enjoined that the Christian eats to live, and that so his food should be simple. Practical advice is also given as to proper conduct at table. In the same manner instruction is offered on drinking, in which it is said that if the Lord "made water wine at the marriage, he did not give permission to get drunk"; on costly vessels, containing the remark that the Lord "did not bring down a silver foot-bath from heaven"; on conduct at feasts; on laughter; on filthy speaking; on conduct in company; on the use of ointments and crowns; on sleep; *de procreatione liberorum*; on clothes, suggesting that "our life ought to be anything rather than a pageant"; on shoes; and against excessive delight in jewels and ornaments, containing the admonition that modesty and chastity are collars and necklaces, the chains that God forges.

*Book Three.*—The greatest of all lessons is to know one's self, and so to know God. He possesses true beauty with whom the Word dwells, and who is thus made like God. Another beauty of men, also, is the love that vaunteth not itself. The Lord himself was uncomely in aspect. The body is not to be embellished, especially by men. The man who would be beautiful should adorn his mind;

but, alas, the wickedness that prevails over the cities! Men and women throng themselves with servants and with licentious panders, and forget the poor. In the baths there is shameless immodesty, whereas all should study a modest behavior, everywhere regarding the Word. Righteousness only is true riches; and frugality, like that of Elias the Tishbite, is a good provision for the journey to heaven. In instruction in righteousness, examples are helpful, stimulating, and warning. The baths have their legitimate uses and are to be rightly employed. So, also, are suitable exercises to be taken. In chapter twelve a compendious survey of the Christian life treats of clothes, ear-rings, finger-rings, the hair, painting the face, walking, the model maiden, amusements and associates, public spectacles, religion in ordinary life,<sup>6</sup> going to church, out of church, love and the kiss of charity, and the government of the eyes. The teachings thus given by the Instructor are finally confirmed by many texts of Scripture. The work closes with a prayer to the Instructor—who is called Father, Charioteer of Israel, Son and Father both in one—to be gracious to his children. Appended are a hymn of Clement to *Christ the Saviour* and a poetic address to the *Instructor*.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE INSTRUCTOR.

1. "Our Instructor, O ye children, is like his Father, God, whose son he is, sinless, blameless, and of dispassionate soul; God in the form of man, stainless, the minister of the Father's will; the Word who is God, who is in the Father, who is at the right hand of the Father, and who with the all right [of God] is God." (Book I, chap. 2.)

2. "For we are not called children and infants

on account of the childish and contemptible nature of our learning, as those puffed up by knowledge had slanderously declared. In truth, immediately upon our regeneration, we attained the perfection after which we were striving; for we were enlightened, which is to know God." (Book I, chap. 6.)

3. "Now, instruction is piety, being the science of the service of God, training in the knowledge of the truth, the right guidance which leads to heaven. The word 'instruction' is variously used: referring to him who is led and taught, and to him who leads and teaches; thirdly, of the guidance itself; and fourthly, of what is taught, as the commandments. But the instruction which regards God is the right direction of truth to the contemplation of God, and the delineation of holy actions in perpetual perseverance. As the general, then, conducts the phalanx with reference to the safety of the troops, . . . so also the Instructor guides the children, . . . and, in general, whatever we ask reasonably from God to be done for us, will happen to those who believe in the Instructor." (Book I, chap. 7.)

4. "He himself seems to me to have formed man from the dust and to have regenerated him by water; to have caused him to grow by the Spirit; to have instructed him by his word, directing him by holy precepts to adoption and salvation, in order that, transforming the earth-born into a holy and heavenly man by his advent, he might fulfill completely the divine word, 'Let us make man in our own image and likeness.' This, which God spake, Christ was, in perfection; the rest of mankind are conceived of as only 'in the image.' Let us, O children of the good Father, pupils of the good Instructor, fulfill the will of the Father, listen to the Word, and take on the impress of the truly saving life of our Saviour; practicing even here that heavenly conversation, by which, being made di-

vine, we may anoint ourselves with the chrism of gladness, pure, cheering, ever-blooming, having the conversation of the Lord as a clear pattern of incorruption, and following the footsteps of God." (Book I, chap. 12.)

5. "But, it is said, we do not all philosophize. Do we not all, then, pursue life? What say you? How did you, then, believe? How do you love God and your neighbor if you do not philosophize? And how do you love yourself if you do not love life? It is said, I have not learned letters. But if you have not learned to read, there is no excuse in the matter of hearing, for it is not taught. Faith is the possession of those who are wise, not according to the world, but to God; it is learned without letters; and its writing, which is at once rude and divine, is called love—a spiritual composition. It is permissible to listen to divine wisdom, and also to engage in public pursuits; and it is not forbidden to conduct affairs in the world decorously according to God. The seller or buyer of anything should not name two prices for what is bought or sold. . . . But, above all, let a blameworthy oath on account of what is sold be far from you, and let swearing about other things also be absent. And in this way let those who frequent the market-place and the shop philosophize." (Book III, chap. 11.)

"THE MISCELLANIES;" OR, STROMATA.

Of this work the author himself says:

"The 'Miscellanies' are not like parks adorned, planted in regular order, to please the eye, but rather like some shaded and bushy hill planted with cypresses and planes, with the bay-tree and the ivy, together with apples and olives and figs; the planting purposely mixing together fruit-bear-



ing and fruitless trees—since, on account of those who venture to pilfer and steal the ripe fruit, the writing intends to conceal. From which, however, the husbandman, transplanting and shifting, will adorn a beautiful park and a delightful grove. The ‘Miscellanies,’ then, do not study either order or diction.” (Book VII, chap. 18.)

*Book One.*—It is desirable, Clement declares, that earnest men write books upon the truth as well as preach it. “He that speaks through books consecrates himself before God, crying in writing thus: Not for gain, not for vainglory, not to be vanquished by partiality, nor enslaved by fear, nor elated by pleasure; but only to reap the salvation of those who read.” This work is not artfully constructed for display, but is a memorandum for old age of the discourses of remarkable men whom the author has heard. These men preserved the tradition of the doctrine received from the apostles. The Lord did not disclose all things to the many, but to the few.<sup>1</sup> This writing does not profess to explain fully secret things, but only to recall to memory certain things, omitting others, as we would not give a sword to a child. What is best in philosophy will be used;<sup>2</sup> this for the reason that “many things, though not contributing to the final result, equip the artist.” All wisdom is alike from God, and philosophy is the handmaid of theology.<sup>3</sup> “It is not by nature alone, but also by learning, that people become noble and good.<sup>4</sup> Although a believer, one can not comprehend the things of the faith without knowledge; hence the need of Greek learning. The apostle, in warning against philosophy, referred only to what is false and atheistic, like the Epicurean. The philosophies have torn off fragments from the theology of the Word, so that the gnostic (Clement uses this term in a good sense) can find truth in each. The Greeks,

however, were largely indebted to the barbarians. That they had attained to some truth is attested by Acts xvii, 22-28. But while philosophy is a co-operating cause of the understanding of the truth, the teaching of the Saviour is perfect—the bread essential to life, philosophy being the sauce and sweetmeats.

As preparatory to later discussion, the antiquity of the Jewish faith is here set forth. Moses is claimed to have served as a model for Miltiades in generalship, and to have aided Plato in framing laws. The following division of the Mosaic law is given in terms of the Greek philosophy :

- I. Ethics, embracing—1. History, and 2. Legislation.
- II. Physical Science, treating of—3. Sacrifices.
- III. Metaphysics, or—4. Theology, vision.

Thus “beautifully the Egyptian priest in Plato said, ‘O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children, not having in your souls a single ancient opinion received through tradition from antiquity.’”

*Book Two.*—The pilfering of the Greeks, it is said, is set forth to humble those who go across the seas to study Greek learning. The way to truth is by faith. The professed aim of our philosophy is to lead to the Ruler of all.<sup>5</sup> We do not hold, with Basilides and Valentinus, that faith is a natural advantage, but that it is the result of choice; else—if we were “pulled like inanimate things by the puppet-strings of natural powers”—there were no call for repentance or forgiveness of sins. Faith is the foundation of knowledge, as is confirmed by Aristotle and Epicurus; also by the prophet: “Unless ye believe, neither will ye understand.” Faith, the basis of repentance, of hope, of love, is divine. It is not from fear, but it makes men fear. Faith is the first movement toward salvation. It is

more elementary than knowledge, and is as essential to the true gnostic as respiration. Fear is not necessarily a perturbation of mind, but may be "the beginning of wisdom." Our philosopher applies himself to speculation, to the performance of the precepts, and to the forming of good men; which things concurring, he is a gnostic. As such he is fixed by faith, the virtue inclosing the Church. God has no natural relation to us, we being wholly estranged from him by nature; nevertheless, he pities and cares for us. The Mosaic law was the foundation of the ethical code of the Greeks. The gnostic, having one virtue, has all; he has few needs;<sup>6</sup> he is an imitator of God, doing good in word and deed; he also exercises patience and self-restraint. Our philosophy declares that the passions are impressions made on the soul, "as it were, the signatures of the spiritual powers with whom we struggle." They are not appendages to the soul, nor evil spirits dwelling in the soul, as the heretics claim; rather, as says the apostle Barnabas, sinners exercise activities appropriate to demons. The heretic chief, who called himself a gnostic, deceived himself when he thought to combat pleasure with pleasure, to the abuse of the flesh. Pleasure is no part of us, and the Greeks are not right in running down the divine law that would restrain us. By the law, noble examples are brought before us; and Zeno said, proving the value of examples, that "he would rather have seen one Indian roasted than have learned the whole of the arguments about bearing pain." The opinions of various philosophers as to the chief good are here given. For example, Epicurus says that pleasure is the end of life; virtue is only a means thereto. Others have higher views. Plato's opinion is closely akin to that of Paul, who lays down, as the aim of faith, "assimilation to God, so that, as far as possible, a

man becomes righteous and holy with wisdom." The book closes by setting forth the Christian idea of marriage.

*Book Three.*—The entire book is devoted to a refutation of the erroneous opinions, and a condemnation of the unholy practices, of heretics in regard to marriage; and to an exposition of Scripture passages bearing upon the same.

*Book Four.*—These *stromata* are said to be a series of discussions passing constantly to different subjects, hinting at one thing and proving another. The distinctive work of man is to turn away the soul from the body and its lusts to God. Martyrdom we call perfection, because therein men exhibit the perfect work of love. The perfect confession of God may be made by all, however they may die, these attaining the gnostic martyrdom. Martyrdom is not to be avoided by denial, nor is it to be courted. They are to be admired who, like the Stoics and like Job, do not let outward things affect the soul. Poverty, for example, is too apt to draw away the soul from contemplation; hence in avoiding it we do so for the soul's sake. After comments on our Lord's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount, the blessedness of the martyr is set forth; also the fact that women, children, and servants may attain the highest excellence, may philosophize to the saving of their souls. There is a peculiarly saving efficacy in thus confessing unto the death.<sup>7</sup> God permits these martyrdoms and overrules the crimes of the persecutors for good. The heretics, in supposing that some men are saved by nature, and that they came to this earth to abolish death, which came through the Creator, deny that Christ hath abolished death. Examples are given of women who have attained perfection. Men in this life are perfect in various directions, none except the Saviour in all; yet the gnostic martyr at death does become

perfect. The gnostic does good and desires knowledge for their own sake, and not for ulterior ends.<sup>8</sup> All sins committed before baptism are remitted—this contrary to Basilides, who says that involuntary sins, those committed after baptism, are purged. The perfect man does not vilify the body, since the soul is not by nature good and the body by nature bad. The soul is not sent down from heaven to what is worse; for God works all things up to what is better.

*Book Five.*—Faith is twofold: 1. The common, as a foundation; and, 2. The faith resulting from instruction. This is not by nature, as says Basilides. Some questions do not admit of the asking: for example, to ask proof of the existence of Providence deserves punishment. Wisdom not intended for men until Christ should come was communicated to women by the unholy angels, and so came to the Greeks. Thus they celebrate faith. Hope also is known to them, as to Socrates. The objects of faith and hope are perceived by the mind alone, and are presented by the barbarian philosophers as the Word of God. The knowledge of ignorance is the first lesson in walking according to the Word. Knowledge of divine things is wrapped in figures, as in Egyptian hieroglyphics, Greek aphorisms, the theology of the poets, Pythagorean symbols, symbols in the tabernacle, Egyptian symbols, the Ephesian letters, etc. This veiling is so as not to impart all truth to careless listeners. So the apostle speaks of feeding the Corinthians milk and not strong meat, for which, being carnal, they were unprepared. God is not to be thought of as sharing all things with us; the ascription of hands, etc., to him by the Hebrews is not literal. Euripides, “the philosopher of the drama,” is said to allude to God the Father and the Son. God can with difficulty be embraced by the

mind, and such knowledge is allowed even by the philosophers to be a divine gift. So, according to Plato's own reasoning, the Old and New Testament utterances are to be believed, though offering no proof. They, therefore, who vilify philosophy vilify the faith. Again, "men must be saved by learning the truth through Christ, even if they attain philosophy."

A long list of Greek plagiarisms from the Hebrews embraces, with others, the Stoic saying that God pervades all, from *Wisd.* vii, 24; the philosopher's idea of matter, from *Gen.* i, 2; Epicurus's doctrine of chance, from *Eccl.* i, 2; Aristotle's teaching that Providence extends as far as the moon, from *Ps.* xxxvi, 5; Plato's doctrine of future punishment, and so of immortality, from the barbarian's Gehenna; his doctrine of ideas, from *Gen.* i, 2 (rendered "and the earth was invisible"), and i, 26; his suggestion of the Trinity; the idea of a removal of all things given by Empedocles and Heraclitus; the notion of a sacred seventh day, seen in Plato, Homer, Callimachus, and Solon; the saying of Menander that God is not propitiated by sacrifices; Homer's intimation that God is just; Æschylus's calling of God the Most High, in a passage paraphrasing *Ps.* lxxviii, 8; Plato's exhibition of free will in the expression, "Virtue owns no master." For all these pilferings it was that the Lord called the Greeks "thieves and robbers."

*Book Six.*—After stating his purpose to exhibit "the gnostic's form of religion, as far as it is possible without danger," the author returns to Greek plagiarisms, showing them to be from one another, from the Scripture accounts of miracles, and from the philosophy of Egypt. In confirmation of the fact that the Greeks had some knowledge of God, he cites the "Preaching" of Peter, and some apocryphal book of Paul. The law and the prophets having been given to the barbarians, and philosophy to

the Greeks, "to fit their ears for the gospel," the Lord and his apostles preached the gospel in Hades, to the salvation of those who had been good under both the law and philosophy.<sup>10</sup> Those among us are called philosophers who love the Creator and Teacher of all; among the Greeks, those who reason about virtue. The perfection of the common believer is in abstinence from evil; of the gnostic, in positive well-doing. "The *gnosis* itself is that which has descended by transmission to a few, having been imparted unwritten by the apostles." Though not longer needful to the gnostic, philosophy is truly divine. The gnostic is unmoved by all the ordinary passions, like the Saviour, who was impassible, and who ate not for the sake of the body—which was kept together by a divine energy—and like the apostles, who ever after the resurrection were gnostics. The perfect man has no need of courage or cheerfulness, etc.; he does not even desire knowledge, but, possessing it, he has a gnostic love for it. Thus he is entirely impassible. He is also equal to the angels, even here. Such a one may be enrolled in the body of the apostles, being in reality a presbyter of the church, not as being ordained by men, but as righteous. He will sit down with the four-and-twenty elders. There are (in the author's opinion) ranks in heaven, corresponding to the advancements in the church, viz., to bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The perfect, "the philosophers of God," will attain to the heritage of beneficence, "devoting themselves to the pure vision of insatiable contemplation"; others, not of this fold, will have mansions in proportion to their faith. The mere believer passes to the better mansion through great discipline.<sup>11</sup> As to degrees of knowledge, it is said that philosophy contains elementary truth; Christ alone teaches the perfect truth, which is inscribed by God's power on the

“new hearts” of the gnostics. A gnostic exposition of the decalogue is here given, and philosophy is declared to have been willed by God on account of virtue. Virtuous thoughts are inspired in men by angels, who are distributed to all cities and nations. The gnostic attends to philosophy for recreation. Philosophy, however, is exclusive, compared with the universality of the gospel.

*Book Seven.*—The gnostic is so far from being an atheist that he alone is truly pious, the service of God being his soul’s continual study. The first step in the faith is to know God; the next, to consider wrong-doing as opposed to God. “The best thing on earth is the most pious man, and the best thing in heaven . . . is an angel. . . . But the nature of the Son, which is the nearest to him who is alone the Almighty One, is the most perfect, and most holy, and most potent, and most princely, and most kingly, and most beneficent.” The Son is “the God who before the foundation of the world was the counselor of the Father”; he is, “so to speak, a certain energy of the Father”; “having assumed sensitive flesh, he came to show man what was possible through obedience to the commandments.” God is in no respect the cause of evil; but he has adapted all things for the salvation of men. The gnostic holds converse with God, through the great High Priest; “he even forms and creates himself, and, like God, adorns those who hear him.” “The gnostic is pious who cares first for himself, and then for his neighbors, that they become good.” The gnostic is the divine image of the Only Begotten, as he is of the Father. The gnostic is the true athlete. God is not to be circumscribed by the work of men’s hands. The church is not the place where God is worshiped, but the assemblage of the elect. The gods even were dishonored by sacrifices—much more God; the true sacrifice is prayer.



The gnostic reverences the Saviour, and through him the Father, at all times, not on stated occasions: tilling and sowing, he praises God. God hears even volitions, not waiting for loquacious tongues. Prayer is converse with God; and "as God can do all that he wishes, so the gnostic receives all that he asks." Petitions are not superfluous,<sup>12</sup> though good things are given without. Thanksgiving and requests for his neighbor's conversion are functions of the gnostic; he asks also for the permanence of his possessions, for adaptation for what takes place, and for the eternity of what he receives: He does not ask for what is absent, nor for things required for necessary uses. He acquires by training a virtue that can not be lost, any more than the weight of a stone. He will, however, pray with less advanced believers for things in which they act together. The gnostic dignity is enhanced by his teaching, which—unless it be otherwise for some good purpose<sup>13</sup>—is always truthful. The steps to perfection are faith, knowledge, love.<sup>14</sup> Of the gnostic's life it is further said that, beginning with admiration of creation, he learns of God and directly believes; he discards the seductions of pleasure, etc.<sup>15</sup> His whole life is a prayer and converse with God; he surpasses the philosopher, who will not endure afflictions save for honor; he is tempted only by the permission of God, and for the good of his companions, since he uses his life as if it belonged to another; he lives in the city as in the desert, and in the desert as in the city; he impoverishes himself to give to others; he prays in the society of angels, being of angelic rank; and in his prayer he not merely asks but demands from the Lord. Further, the traditions say that Matthew constantly affirmed that "if the neighbor of an elect man sin, the elect man has sinned." Thus the gnostic is "divine, and already holy, God-bearing, and God-borne."

To the objections made to the faith on account of the sects, it is replied that there are sects among the philosophers and the Jews; also that our Lord foretold them; and that the heresies exist on account of those approved. We need not by reason of them "transgress the canon of the church." Because weeds grow in a garden, we do not cease gardening. There is a possibility of distinguishing the truth by investigation, the criterion of truth being the Scriptures. The heretics wrest the Scriptures, and prefer what seems to them more evident to the words of the Lord. The sources of all sin are ignorance, which may be cured by knowledge and demonstrations from the Scriptures, and inability, which will yield to training according to the Word and to the discipline of faith and fear. The gnostic maintains the scriptural and apostolic doctrine.<sup>16</sup> The tradition of the church is of earlier date than the heresies, the inventors of the latter having arisen in the times of Adrian and extended to the age of Antoninus. Jews and heretics were symbolized in the Scriptures by unclean beasts, in distinction from the clean, symbolizing the divine church.

*Book Eight.*—This is a treatise on logic, appended to, rather than a continuation of, the other books. Setting out from the position that the end of investigation is the discovery of truth, the author first shows the need of well-defined and understood terms. He then shows the difference between syllogizing and demonstrating, the former involving only sound reasoning from the premises, the latter presupposing sound premises as well. To prevent ambiguity, we must distinguish the essence of the thing discussed from its powers and properties. For example, the question is, Is the fœtus an animal? Here the inquiry is regarding functions and sensations in a substance previously known; consequently the man who proposes the question is to be first

asked what he calls an animal. After showing that the Pyrrhonian idea that nothing is certain invalidates itself, it is said that in discussion we must know *if* a thing is, *what* it is, and *why* it is. The first is reached through induction, whose starting-point is sensation; the second by division or definition; all three through demonstration. Definition is fourfold, in accord with the four causes, material, moving, formal, and final. That form of division is approved which proceeds from the genus to the species (rather than from the whole to its parts), and such definition is essential to true knowledge. After allusion to the causes of skepticism, there are said to be in speech the thing, the conception, and the name. The latter is reduced by grammar to its elementary letters. Of conceptions and things philosophy treats, under the ten categories. Causes are primary, efficient, coöperative, and *sine qua non*.

EXTRACTS FROM THE "MISCELLANIES."

1. "He did not immediately reveal to the many what was not intended for the many; but to a few only, to whom he knew it to be suited, who were capable of receiving it and being molded according to it. But hidden things, as it is with God, are committed to speech, not to writing." (Book I, chap. 1.)

2. "For, like husbandmen watering the earth beforehand, we water with a stream from the learning of the Greek what is earthy in these [writings]; so that it may receive the spiritual seed cast into it, and may be able easily to nourish it. The 'Miscellanies' will contain the truth mixed up with the doctrines of philosophy, or rather covered over and hidden, as the eatable part of a nut by the shell; for the seeds of the truth ought, I think, to be kept solely for the husbandman of the faith: I am not

oblivious of the babbling of some who, timid in their ignorance, say that we ought to occupy ourselves with what is most necessary and contains the faith, and to pass by what is without and superfluous, which wears us out uselessly, and detains us over things which conduce in no way to the end. Some also think that philosophy was introduced into life through evil for the ruin of men, by an evil inventor. But that evil has an evil nature, and can not turn into the producer of anything good, I shall show throughout the whole of these 'Miscellanies.'” (Book I, chap. 1.)

3. “For God is the cause of all that is good: of some immediately, as of the old covenant and the new, and of some by consequence, as of philosophy. Perhaps it was even given immediately to the Greeks, before the Lord called the Greeks; for this was a school-master to bring the Hellenic mind to Christ, as the law was to the Hebrews. Philosophy, therefore, was preparatory, paving the way to Him who was perfected in Christ.” (Book I, chap. 5.)

4. “While God has made us by nature social and just, it must not therefore be said that justice is from constitution alone; but the constitutional goodness must be conceived of as stimulated by the commandment, the soul being instructed by discipline willingly to choose the best.” (Book I, chap. 6.)

5. “. . . The Ruler of all, a being difficult to seize upon and comprehend, receding continually and keeping afar off from him who pursues. But, wonder ineffable! he who is afar off has come very nigh.” (Book II, chap. 2.)

6. “For the good man wants but little, being on the boundary between a mortal and an immortal nature; having wants both by reason of his body and of his very birth, but taught by rational self-control to want few things.” (Book II, chap. 18.)

7. "Some, according to the apostle, 'confess that they know God, but in works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate.' Still, these, if they make this confession alone, will have done one good work at the end. Their witness, then, is the cleansing away of sin by glory." (Book IV, chap. 9.)

8. "If it be supposed, then, that one should propose to the gnostic whether he would prefer the knowledge of God or everlasting salvation, and these things were separable, which are in every way the same, without any doubting, he would choose the knowledge of God; judging that characteristic of the faith which ascends from love to knowledge to be desirable for its own sake." (Book IV, chap. 22.)

9. "So that when he says, 'Around the King of all are all things; on his account are all things; and that is the cause of all good things; and the second around the second; and the third around the third,' I do not understand otherwise than that the Holy Trinity is meant. For the third is the Holy Spirit; and the Son is the second, by whom all things were made according to the will of the Father." (Book V, chap. 14.)

10. "If, then, the Lord went down to Hades for nothing else but to preach the gospel, as he did go down, it was either to preach the gospel to all or to the Hebrews only. If, therefore, it was to all, all who believe will be saved, although they chance to be of the Gentiles, on making their profession there. . . . Thus I deem it proved that, the God being good and the Lord powerful, they save with righteousness and impartiality those who turn about, whether here or elsewhere. For not here alone is the active power [of God] beforehand, but everywhere and always it is at work. . . . And it were not a work of arrogance for those who departed be-

fore the coming of the Lord—not having the gospel preached to them, and not having any cause, outside themselves, for believing or not—to share in salvation or punishment. For it is not indeed right for those to be condemned unjudged, and for such only as followed the advent to have the advantage of the divine righteousness.” (Book VI, chap. 6.)

11. “Therefore our believer, divesting himself of passions through severe discipline, goes to a better mansion than the former—to the greatest torment, taking with him the characteristic of repentance of the sins which he has committed after baptism. He is then tortured still more, not yet and not wholly possessing what he sees others to have received. He is furthermore ashamed of his wrong doings. The greatest torments indeed are the portion of the believer. For God’s righteousness is good, and his goodness is righteous. And, although punishments cease as the expiation and purification of each is completed, they have very great and permanent grief who are found worthy of the other fold, which results from their not being with those who are glorified through righteousness.” (Book VI, chap. 14.)

12. “When then one who is upright in heart, as well as thankful, seeks through prayer, he somehow coöperates in its attainment, in that he gladly lays hold in prayer upon the thing desired. For when the Giver of good things perceives the susceptibility on our part, all good follows at once upon its conception. Truly, in prayer the character is tested, how it stands with respect to duty.” (Book VII, chap. 7.)

13. “Whatsoever then he has in mind, he bears it also on his tongue to those who are worthy to hear, both speaking and living from assent and inclination. For he thinks, and at the same time speaks, the truth; unless at any time in the way of medi-

cine, like a physician to the sick, for the safety of those who are ill, he shall lie or speak an untruth, according to the Sophists." (Book VII, chap. 9.)

14. "Faith then is, so to speak, the concise knowledge of the essentials; and knowledge is the demonstration, strong and sure, of what is received through faith, built upon faith by the Lord's teaching, carrying [the soul] through to what is infallible and scientifically comprehensible. And the first saving change seems to me to be from heathenism to faith, as I said before; and the second from faith to knowledge. And the latter, terminating in love, thenceforward gives the loving to the loved, that which knows to that which is known." (Book VII, chap. 10.)

15. "So striving, then, to come to the summit of knowledge, adorned in character, calm of mien, having all those advantages which belong to the true gnostic, looking away to fair models—the many patriarchs who before him have lived rightly, and very many prophets, and angels innumerable by us, and, above all, the Lord who taught and showed it to be possible to attain that highest life—on this account he loves not all the beautiful things of the world, which are at hand, that he may not remain on the ground, but things hoped for, rather already known, being hoped for unto the attaining. Thus, then, he endures toils and trials and afflictions, not, as the manly ones among the philosophers, in the hope of present trouble ceasing and of sharing again in what is pleasant; but knowledge has inspired in him the firmest persuasion of receiving the hopes of the future. Wherefore he despises not only the chastisements of the present, but also all its pleasures." (Book VII, chap. 11.)

16. "Our gnostic alone then, having grown old in the Scriptures, preserving the apostolic and ecclesiastical orthodoxy in doctrines, lives most correctly

according to the Gospel, and finds out from the law and the prophets proofs for which he may have sought, being sent forth by the Lord. For the life of the gnostic, I think, is nothing else than works and words in conformity with the tradition of the Lord." (Book VII, chap. 16.)

### HYMN TO CHRIST THE SAVIOUR.

[A word-for-word rendering of the original.]

Bridle of colts unbroken ;	O way celestial ;
Wing of birds unwandering ;	Word everlasting ;
Helm of ships, trusty ;	Age unapproachable ;
Shepherd of lambs royal :	Light eternal ;
Thy simple	Of mercy thou Fountain ;
Children assemble	Doer of righteousness :
To praise holily,	Sweet the life
To hymn guilelessly,	Of the God-hymning, O Christ
With innocent mouths,	Jesus !
The children's Leader, Christ.	O Milk celestial
O King of saints ;	Of the breasts enchanting
Word all-subduing	Of the Bride's graces,
Of the Father most high ;	By wisdom thine own pressed
Of wisdom thou Ruler ;	out !
Support of sorrows,	Babes
Rejoicing in eternity ;	With tender mouths,
Of the human race	Nourished
Thou Saviour, Jesus ;	By breast intellectual,
Shepherd, Husbandman,	With spirit dewy
Helm, Bridle,	Filled full :
Wing celestial	Praises simple,
Of the all-holy flock ;	Hymns sincere,
Fisher of men	To the King, Christ,
Who are saved ;	As a fee approved
From billows hateful	For life teachings,
Of a sea of evil,	Let us sing together.
Fishes chaste	Let us sing with simplicity
With sweet life enticing :	The Child who is mighty.
Be thou Leader, of sheep	A choir of peace ;
Rational thou Shepherd.	The Christ-begotten ;
O holy One, be the Leader—	A people chaste ;
O King !—of children un-	Chant we together the God of
harméd,	peace !
In the footsteps of Christ.	



## ORIGEN.

ORIGEN, the Theologian, was the greatest Christian mind of the ante-Nicene age; and only in Augustine, if indeed in him, had he his equal in the entire early church. His father, a Christian of Alexandria, having died a martyr when Origen was a boy of eighteen, he supported his mother and brothers by his labors in philology. As earnest in his Christianity as he was profound in his scholarship, he was soon inducted into the office of catechist in the Christian school of Alexandria. While a catechist, he attended the lectures of the Neoplatonist Ammonius Saccas, and thus fitted himself to guide pagans as well as Christians in their study of the Scriptures. Pupils soon came to him in great numbers, so that he gave over the ordinary duties of the catechetical school and devoted himself to leading the more advanced scholars, through the entire domain of Greek culture, up to a right understanding of the Scripture and of the Christian faith. Thus he initiated a liberal and scientific Christian education. He was successful in winning not only philosophers, but also heretics, into the church, and particularly those gnostics who had turned from the traditional faith because of the narrow and crude form in which it had been presented to them. Among these converts was one Ambrosius, a wealthy man, whose munificence enabled Origen to carry on his learned researches. He furnished him with rare manuscripts, and with scribes and copyists, whom he kept so constantly

employed that his works seemed those of a great school rather than of one man. Rufinus declares that they exceeded six thousand, which number, though much exaggerated, suggests a productiveness which was marvelous. But the attention paid to so zealous a scholar awakened the jealousy of his bishop, Demetrius; and this feeling was heightened when, on a journey, Origen was ordained a presbyter by Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem. Demetrius now convened a synod, which deposed Origen from his rank as presbyter, and, on the charge of heresy, forbade him to teach in Alexandria. The great scholar therefore withdrew, A. D. 232, to Cæsarea, where most of his after life was spent. Here, as at Alexandria, he became the center of a learned circle, whose influence was felt long after his death. The personal quarrel in which Demetrius had engaged with him now led to the rise of parties in the church, in which Palestine, Arabia, Phœnicia, and Achaia sided with Origen, and Rome and the dominant party at Alexandria against him. The chief thing to be remembered in connection with these divisions is the forgiving spirit with which Origen uniformly spoke of his enemies. Although branded as a heretic, he was greatly revered in large sections of the church. Repeatedly he was invited to foreign cities to take part in councils for composing differences in churches, or for settling matters of faith. At one such council, his opponent, Beryllus, was not only convinced by his reasoning, but even addressed him a letter of thanks for winning him back from error. Having suffered severely in the Decian per-

secution, Origen died A. D. 254, at the age of seventy years.

Of his works that have survived, the most important are the "De Principiis," which confessedly contain many opinions which he retracted before his death; his book "Against Celsus," a most valuable apologetical work; numerous commentaries and homilies on the Old and New Testaments; and part of the "Hexapla," a critical edition of the Old Testament—giving in six parallel columns as many different texts in Greek and Hebrew—a work which cost him twenty-eight years of labor. The large comparative space which we have given to the works "De Principiis" and "Against Celsus" will enable the reader to get some adequate idea of their contents.

## WRITINGS OF ORIGEN.

### ORIGEN DE PRINCIPIIS.

*Preface.*—The truth which incites men to good and happy lives is derived from no other source than Christ, either speaking through Moses and the prophets or in the flesh. Differences of opinion obtain, but the true opinion is that which has been transmitted in orderly succession from the apostles. This teaching is clear concerning God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup> Concerning the soul, it affirms that it is destined "either to obtain an inheritance of eternal life and blessedness . . . or to be delivered over to eternal fire and punishment"; that there is to be a resurrection, when this body, "now sown in corruption, shall rise in incorruption"; that every rational soul is possessed of free will and volition, and has a struggle to maintain with the

devil and his angels. Just what these opposing beings are has not been fully explained. The world, it is taught, began to exist in time, and will be destroyed on account of wickedness; but what is before or after is unknown to the many. The Scriptures, written by the Spirit of God, have an open meaning, and a hidden one, known only to those on whom the grace of the Holy Spirit is bestowed. Making use of these elements, one body of doctrine is to be elaborated by argument and illustration.

*Book One.*—God, being called “Light,” is not corporeal, like the light of the sun; called “a consuming fire,” consumes not wood, but evil thoughts. He is called a Spirit as opposed to anything gross and material. He is incomprehensible by us as the light of the sun to one unable to bear the flame of the smallest lamp. He is the Mind from which all intellectual nature has its beginning, which Mind does not require space in which to carry on its operations; and yet, as there is a certain substance behind each sense—e. g., sound behind hearing—so is there substantial being behind these operations.

In Christ we note a distinction between his nature as the Only-Begotten and his human nature assumed for a purpose. Calling him the “Wisdom” of God, we do not mean anything impersonal, but a being generated before any conceivable beginning, and in manner such that no human mind may comprehend “how the unbegotten God is made the Father of the only-begotten Son.” So is he also the “Word” of God, revealing all things known to God’s creatures; the “Truth” and “Life” of all that exist, and the “Way” to God. He is the “invisible image” of God; the brightness of the Father’s glory softened to the frail eyes of mortals; the breath of the power of God; the stainless mirror of the working of God; the image of his goodness. The Father being omnipotent through wisdom, the

omnipotence of the Father and of the Son is the same. So also is the goodness of the Father identical with that of the Son.

The Holy Spirit is the power who alone has made possible a true knowledge of the Son of God. Of the existence of the Holy Spirit no one could have a suspicion but for the Scriptures. He is of such dignity that saving baptism is not complete except by joining to the Father and the Son the name of the Holy Spirit. The Scriptures never speak of him as created, not even as they speak of the divine Wisdom. The working of the Father and the Son occurs in all creation, saints and sinners (knowledge of good and evil being taught by the Word), rational and dumb, animate and inanimate; but the operation of the Holy Spirit takes place in those persons only who are in the way which leads to Jesus Christ and who abide in God. Here is seen the reason why sin against the Holy Ghost is not forgiven. Sinning against the Word or Reason, one relapses into ignorance; but sin against the Holy Spirit is true blasphemy. Because the Spirit abides upon saints alone, his dignity is not greater than that of the Father and the Son: nothing in the Trinity can be called greater or less. From the Father is existence; from the Son, rationality; from the Holy Spirit, holiness.

Rational natures include holy and malignant beings, and also those which occupy an intermediate position. Every such being which transgresses its laws falls into sin and is deserving of censure. This is true of the devil and his angels. The virtue of the good is not theirs by essential being—this is only true of God—nor is the spiritual sway which they exercise, but through choice and desert. Proofs of the fall of holy beings from purity to sin are given in Ezek. xxviii, 11–19, Isa. xiv, 12–22, and Luke x, 18. Good and evil being acci-

dents, not essentials of our nature, a man may so descend as to become an "opposing power."

On the end of all things the author says he speaks not with dogmatic certainty, as "when speaking of the Trinity." Save only to the dogmatism of prejudice, his views, he claims, are not out of accord with the faith of the church. The end is to come when all will be subject to Christ; or, as the author thinks, will be saved.<sup>2</sup> This end will be as the beginning, in which some obtained the rank of angels, others that of influences, principalities, etc., all being conferred according to the merit of the receivers. We who have receded from that primal state of blessedness are not irrecoverably removed; and this order of the human race has been instituted in order, by its course of discipline, to restore the lost unity. The devils proved themselves so unworthy that they were not admitted to the training of the earth. Whether they will ever be recovered to righteousness, or "whether persisting and inveterate wickedness may be changed by the power of habit into nature," is to be judged by the reader in the light of the fact that "that part [of creation] is not to be wholly at variance from the final unity and fitness." Meantime they will all pass through a suitable course of training, and endure for ages appropriate and severe punishment. Material substances will not cease to be, but a change will pass upon them. No intelligence save God is able to exist without some sort of bodily adjunct.

Souls are incorporeal. The heavenly bodies may be designated as living beings; and from human analogy it is probable that the spirit was implanted in them from without.

The angels hold their ranks and offices in virtue of services rendered before the world began, and because of the merits, mental vigor, etc., of each. Thus God is not partial in his bestowments. So

also the positions of the "opposing powers" are taken by desert. Men by desert may become angelic; they can not descend into irrationality, but they may, and indeed angels may, become demons, and *vice versa*.\*

*Book Two.*—The great wisdom of God enables him to arrange that all rational creatures, with their differing motion, shall work toward the same great end in which their salvation is insured, without impairing their freedom. The world may be regarded as some huge animal kept together by the power of God as by one soul.

Since only the Trinity can exist in a wholly incorporeal state, we may expect that, in its finer form, this material substance will continue to exist in the splendor of celestial bodies.

Was there, it is asked, any world before this, like it or different? or was there a condition like that when the kingdom shall have been delivered up to God the Father? which, however, may have been preceded by another world. Also, will there be hereafter any system of preservation and amendment, completing the training of this life, after which the end of all things will come? and will there then be another world resembling or different from the present? or will there some time be no world? If several worlds, will one ever exactly resemble another? This last supposition is hardly possible. This age is the consummation of many ages, and in this alone did Christ die (Heb. ix, 26.) It will be followed by other ages (Eph. ii, 7). Readers may choose between these suppositions as to the end of all things.

The Scriptures and the Lord's own words prove that the God of the law and the prophets is one with the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

\* This last from a translation by Jerome, in Ep. to Avitus.

The justice and goodness of God are in no wise incompatible, as say the heretics. The Old Testament calls God merciful, and the gospels call him just.

We are lost in amazement that the very Word and Wisdom of God, in whom all things were created, should have divested himself of his majesty; and that he could have existed within the limits of the man Jesus, becoming an infant, and suffering death. The Only-Begotten has conveyed a share of himself to all his creatures in proportion to the love which they have for him; but that soul concerning which Jesus said, "No one taketh it from me," inhering indissolubly in him, and receiving him wholly and passing into his light, was made with him in a preëminent degree one spirit. This soul was the necessary intermediary between God and the flesh. This indissoluble union with God was received as a reward of the virtues of the soul (Ps. xlv, 7); in which custom had changed what was once an election of righteousness into nature, so that the soul of Christ existed without possibility of sin.

The Holy Spirit is called by our Lord the Paraclete. Every rational creature, without distinction, may receive a share of him; though his chief advent among men has been subsequent to the ascension of Christ, since which multitudes have received the gift of the Spirit, who has become to each just what he needed—wisdom, faith, knowledge, etc. Some conceive of him as a common spirit, in a way unworthy of his divinity; but of such majesty is he that the apostles could not go forth until he had descended on them. He teaches truths which it is unlawful (that is, impossible) to utter. He is the Consoler, as distinguished from the Saviour's office (as Paraclete, I Jno. ii, 1) of Advocate.



There are souls (*animæ*), which are perceptive and impulsive, in all beings, from things in the waters up to God; though there is a difficulty of thought as to the soul of God. Paul speaks of a kind of soul-man, to whom things of the Spirit are foolishness, and in contradistinction to the soul, thus obtuse, of the understanding (*mens*), with which the man sings and prays. If the soul, then, neither sings nor prays, how can it be saved? (I Pet. i, 9). Possibly, it may be answered, the soul was so called before it fell, and so, being saved, retains its appropriate name. Still the "soul" is not praised in Scripture. "Return unto thy rest, O my soul," means, Return to the condition of understanding.

God created at the beginning a definite number of rational beings, and a material body sufficient for the adorning of the world. To the understandings of these intelligences God gave free action, by which good could be made their own. By failure actively to choose the good, some positively chose evil, and so came variety. In the world are super-celestial beings, placed in happier abodes and clothed in resplendent bodies, and who differ in glory; there are also earthly creatures, men who differ in condition; and there are again lower powers, among whom is diversity. These all were created by Christ, the diversities having come from their own choice. Thus positions taken here at birth—e. g., Jacob's—are based upon ante-natal preferences. As at the judgment there will be a distribution of souls, so there has been before a similar assignment.

What rises at the resurrection is a spiritual body. The differences among these bodies are illustrated, in the case of saints, by the differences between the glory of the heavenly bodies; in the case of sinners, by the various kinds of flesh. But we are not to think that bodies of flesh and blood, with the passions of the senses, but rather that incorruptible

bodies, will be given even to those who are destined to eternal fire. Each will be punished in his own fire, his sins the fuel, and the consciousness of evil committed the torture; <sup>3</sup> which torture will ultimately cease and restoration will be effected.

As to promises, we are not to expect that the earthly city of Jerusalem will be rebuilt, and that the saints will then literally eat and drink and reign as kings. We shall eat and drink, but it will be of the bread of life and the cup of divine wisdom. God has implanted in our minds a desire to know the truth of God and the causes of things, and this desire will be gratified. Departing this life, the saints will remain in paradise, a place situated upon earth, as in a class-room or school of souls, until they know about all things on earth. The more advanced they are, the more quickly will they ascend thence to a place in the air, and pass through the spheres or heavens, the many mansions, learning in each what is done there and why it is done.

*Book Three.*—The question regarding the freedom of the will is of all most necessary. In animate beings a phantasy springing up incites to effort, the nature of which phantasy determines the kind of action—for example, that the spider shall weave and the bee make wax. Rational animals have, in addition, reason, which approves or disapproves these phantasies. The instinctive faculty varies greatly, in some animals approaching to reason. For the amount of this kind of power which we have, we are not responsible; only for the rational use which we make of the same. For no external causes are so strong as to compel us to do wrong. The freedom of the will is proved by passages like Mic. vi, 8; Deut. xxx, 15, 16, 19; Isa. i, 19, 20; Ps. lxxx, 13, 14; Matt. v, 22, 39; vii, 24, 26; xxv, 34, 35; Rom. ii, 4–10. But the objector cites Ex. iv, 21; Ezek. xi, 19, 20; Mk. iv, 12; Rom. ix, 16,

20, 21, etc. As to the claim that Ex. iv, 21, proves a ruined nature, incapable of good, it may be said that Pharaoh was capable of good; else why the need of God's using on him hardening influences? God, having no part in wickedness, could not have caused Pharaoh's disobedience. We must rather reflect that rain causes the growth either of good fruit or of thorns, according to the seed; that the same sun liquefies wax and dries up mud. So the mighty works of God, while hardening Pharaoh's heart, softened the hearts of the "mixed multitudes" of Egypt. Upon Isa. lxiii, 17, 18, and Jer. xx, 7, it is said that God leaves the greater part of men unpunished in the midst of evil until they find out their own nature and the grace of God, and see that benefits received are from heaven and not of themselves, since God governs souls with reference not to fifty years, but to an illimitable age.<sup>4</sup> He was not done with Pharaoh when the monarch was drowned. The stony heart is taken away from a man only by the consent of his own will. It may occur that it would not be best for a soul thus to consent until after a longer experience; in which case, as with the Tyrians, mighty works leading to repentance are not wrought among them. Commenting on Rom. ix, 18-21, it is claimed that it must be so interpreted that the apostle will not contradict himself in praising or blaming men for good or evil deeds. It must be read also in connection with 2 Tim. ii, 20, 21, and one complete statement must be extracted from both passages.

Both the Old Testament and the New teach the existence of opposing powers—the devil, Satan, demons. Thus Paul, in Eph. vi, 12, shows that there are invisible enemies against which we fight. The initial elements of sin, however, are in our own natures, our natural passions, the indulgence of which gives admittance to these powers of evil, which then

seek to wreck us. All the temptations of life are meted out to us in proportion to our strength, and by the exercise of free will and diligence we can resist. Our thoughts, memories, etc., arise in part from within, but are in part prompted by the opposing powers, and also by God and the holy angels. These we are able to resist, whether good or evil, although to overcome the opposing powers we have need of divine help. Our wrestling against principalities and powers is not such as is taught in wrestling schools, but the struggle of the soul under losses and trials. We are to believe that nothing comes to man, not even temptations to evil, without God.

There is a wisdom (1) of this world, (2) of the princes of this world, and (3) of God. The first treats of grammar, poetry, etc.; the second, of Egyptian and Chaldean occult philosophy, or Greek opinions as to divine things. This latter wisdom, the princes of this world—spiritual powers to whom is assigned the care of certain nations—impart to men, being themselves deceived by the opposing powers. There are other spiritual energies who exercise sway among men, as in diviners. For as holy souls who devote themselves to God are endowed with a portion of divinity, so those placing themselves in the way of the opposing powers, by adopting their habits, receive from them power. Those who teach contrary to the church are probably inspired thereto by wicked and apostate powers. Since souls are from birth thus susceptible to spiritual influences, we must believe that elsewhere they have freely acted so as to cause this.

The severest temptation of men comes from the principalities and powers without. It is disputed whether we have two souls, one inferior; or whether contact with the body draws to evil; or whether we have one soul with both a rational and an irra-

tional element. In support of the first is adduced, with other passages, Gal. v, 17. When the inferior soul inclines to the flesh, men are carnal; when to the spirit, they are spiritual. It may be better for this soul even to incline to the flesh than to be guided by its own will; for thus, through satiety, it may come to yield itself to the spirit and be converted. Those who hold, on the other hand, to but one soul, say that our conflicts are but the conflicting judgments and emotions of the soul. As to heresies and envyings, which others say must be the work of the inferior soul, these say they are the work of the mind made gross through yielding to the flesh.

The world must, as Moses declared, have had its beginning at a certain time, for it is comprehensible. God was not inactive before this world was made, for there have been, as there will be, other worlds. The Scripture term *καταβολή* (Eph. i, 4) signifies properly "to cast down," in recognition of a descent of rational creatures from a higher to a lower condition, or the bringing down from the invisible to this visible world of those souls which were here to receive training, and those other beings who were to serve them. In these last days of the world there was needed a higher helper than men ever had before; and so came the Son of God, who became obedient unto the Father in the death of the cross. He will one day be subject to him who has put all things under him, that God may be all in all. This subjection being good and salutary, the subjection also of God's enemies is to be deemed salutary and useful, by which subjection is to be understood the salvation of the conquered and the restoration of the lost.

The highest good is to become as like to God as possible. This view, while propounded by philosophers, was derived from Holy Scripture. God,

proposing to create men in his image and likeness, gave the image at once, but the likeness was only to be acquired by diligence in the imitation of God. As God is incorporeal, we, to become like him, must also become incorporeal. Still, from the varying wills of rational creatures, diversity will recur, and matter will again exist, and bodies will be formed. The spiritual body, though so refined, may yet be derived from this present body. Of our two natures, the incorporeal changes in mind and purpose, the corporeal in substance. Bodily nature is at first to have an inheritance in a restored and purified earth, and is there to be prepared for heaven. At the final consummation, those who have come up into that land will be prepared by the Lord himself to come into that state unto which nothing can be added.

*Book Four.*—No other lawgivers save Moses and Jesus have had followers outside of their own nations; but they have followers everywhere. The power which the divine word has thus attained is proof of its divine origin. The authority of Scripture is also attested by the fulfillment of various Old Testament prophecies. If some parts of Scripture are not so apparently divine as others, this is proof that it is not a work of man's wisdom. From failure to interpret the Scriptures spiritually, the Jews are unbelievers, and heretics reject the God of the Old Testament. Our interpretation is that of those who "have the rule of the heavenly church of Jesus Christ, according to the succession of the apostles." This way is threefold: (1) of the flesh, or the obvious sense; (2) of the soul, edifying to those somewhat advanced; (3) of the Spirit, or the spiritual understanding by the perfect man. The object of the Spirit was to impart mysteries, in order that the wise may by study become participators in his counsel; and also to conceal these mysteries in

plain expressions suitable to the unlearned.<sup>5</sup> When the exact history could veil a spiritual teaching, it was followed; otherwise, other things were interwoven which could not or did not happen. So also in legislation, some things were introduced which were not useful in themselves. Thus there is need to "search the Scriptures" in order to their true understanding.

Summarizing now the teachings of this work, the Son was begotten out of the incorporeal as by an act of the will. The Son might not exist without the Father, as light can not exist without splendor; yet there never was a time when he was not the Son. In saying this, it must be remembered that all predications as to the Trinity transcend temporal and even eternal relations. The Word of God is in all intelligences, but more fully in the more holy. By him were all things created. In regard to the incarnate Son, we are not to think that all the majesty of his divinity was so compassed within his narrow body as not to operate elsewhere; and we are not to think that anything of divinity was wanting to Christ. With the soul assumed by Christ, God was so in union that he alone of all souls was incapable of sin. As to the manner of existence of this visible world, matter is not to be spoken of as uncreated, or without quality, or unchangeable. Nothing is not made but God; who, desiring to have those upon whom to confer benefits, created beings capable of receiving him in a worthy manner. These rational creatures, being changeable, had need of a bodily nature, which was accordingly created; and, since there will always be such rational natures, bodily nature must always exist as a covering for them. Since human souls participate in the nature of God, they must be immortal and eternal.

## EXTRACTS FROM "DE PRINCIPIIS."

I. "The form of those things which were clearly handed down by the preaching of the apostles is this :

"First, that there is one God, who created and arranged everything, and who, when nothing was, caused all things to be ; God from the first creation and foundation of the world, the God of all the just—Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the twelve patriarchs, Moses, and the prophets ; and that this God in the last days, as he had before promised by his prophets, sent our Lord Jesus Christ to call, first, Israel, and secondly, after the faithlessness of the people of Israel, the Gentiles. This just and good God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, himself gave the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels ; and he also is the God of the apostles and of the Old and New Testaments.

"Then, next, that Jesus Christ himself, who came, was born of the Father before all creation ; who, when he had served the Father in the creating of all things—'for by him were all things made'—in the last times, emptying himself, was made man incarnate, when he was God ; and being made man, he remained God, as he was. He assumed a body like our body, differing in this only, that it was born of a virgin and of the Holy Ghost. And since this Jesus Christ was in truth born and did suffer, and did not in appearance bear the death common to all, he was truly dead ; for he truly rose from the dead, and after the resurrection, having conversed with his disciples, was taken up.

"Then, next, they handed down that the Holy Spirit was associated in dignity with the Father and the Son." (Preface, 4.)



2. "The end and consummation of the world, then, will come, when each one will be subjected to punishment according to the merit of his sins; which time God only knows, when each shall suffer what he deserves. Unto one end, indeed, we think that the goodness of God, through his Christ, may recall the whole creation; even his enemies being conquered and subdued. For so speaks Holy Scripture: 'The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.' Which, if what the prophetic word here indicates is less plain to us, we learn from the Apostle Paul, who declares more plainly that 'Christ must reign until he has put all enemies under his feet.' Which, if not even this so plain saying of the apostle teaches us sufficiently what it is for enemies to be put under feet, hear him [say] again in the following: 'For all things must be put under him.' What then is the subjection which all subjects owe to Christ? I think it is the very same by which we also choose to be subjected to him; by which are subjected to him the apostles and all the holy who follow Christ. For the name of the subjection [that is, 'salvation'] by which we are subjected to Christ predicates of subjects the salvation which is from Christ, as David also declared: 'Shall not my soul be subject to God? For from him is my salvation.'" (I, vi, 1.)

3. "By these words (Isa. i, 11) it seems to be indicated that each one kindles for himself the flame of his sins, and is not plunged in another fire which has been previously kindled by another, or which existed before himself. Of this fire, the materials and food are our sins, which are called by the Apostle Paul wood and hay and stubble. And I think that, as in the body abundance of food and provisions contrary in quality and quantity generate fevers—fevers, too, differing in kind and duration

according to the measure in which the multiplied intemperance has supplied material and food for fevers; . . . so when the soul shall have gathered in itself a multitude of evil deeds and abundance of sins, at a suitable time all this collection of evils boils up to punishment, and is set on fire to chastisements; when the mind or conscience, by divine power retaining in memory all things of which when sinning it stamped upon itself certain signs and forms, will see set forth before its eyes a kind of history of each of its crimes which it has perpetrated foully and basely, or has committed impiously; then also the conscience is harassed and pierced by its own goads, and becomes its own accuser and witness. Which I think that even the Apostle Paul felt, when he said, 'Their thoughts mutually accusing or excusing them in the day when God will judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel.' " (II, x, 4.)

4. "He, then, who is forsaken is left to the divine judgment; and God is long suffering with certain sinners, not without reason, but because it will be helpful to them, with respect to the immortality of the soul and the endless age, that they be not quickly brought to salvation, but be led to it more slowly after experiencing many evils. For, as physicians who are able to cure a person quickly, when they suspect a hidden poison to be about the body, perform the opposite of healing, doing this from the more earnest desire to heal, because they judge it better to keep him for a considerable time under inflammation and sickness, so that he may recover health more surely, than more quickly to seem to make him strong, afterward to turn him back, and [so to allow] the speedy healing to be only for a time; in the same way, God, knowing the secrets of the heart and foreseeing what will happen, mercifully permits [certain actions] at first, and by exter-

nal events draws out the hidden evil, for the cleansing of him who through indifference had contained seeds of evil, in order that he, having cast out that which was come to the surface, although far gone in evil, may then, being cleansed after his evil, be able to be set right. For God governs souls with reference not, permit me to say, to the fifty years of this life, but to the illimitable age." (III, i, 13.)

5. "Among matters which concern souls, . . . those [truths] which regard God and his Only-Begotten must be placed as primary, viz. : Of what nature he is, and in what manner he is the Son of God ; and what are the causes of his coming down into human flesh, and completely assuming humanity ; what also is the working of the Son, and unto whom it extends, and when. And there was urgent need to be brought to the words of the divine teachings concerning kindred and other rational beings, both the divine and those who have fallen from blessedness ; and the causes of their fall ; also concerning the distinction in souls, and whence these differences came ; and [as to] what the world is, and what is its origin. Thus it is necessary for us to learn whence is such and so great evil upon the earth ; and whether it is not simply upon the earth, but everywhere. Now, these and like [objects] being present to the Spirit who enlightens the souls of the holy ministers of the truth, there was a second object, in behalf of those who are not able to bear the labor of searching out such things, viz. : To conceal the truth about the forementioned things, in sayings which give a narration conveying an annunciation as to the visible creation, and the creation of man, and the descendants from the first man, in succession until they were many ; and in other histories which announce the [appropriate] deeds of the righteous, and the sins sometimes committed by these as men ; also the wicked deeds, both

of licentiousness and greed, of the lawless and ungodly. But, most remarkable, by the history of wars and conquerors and conquered, certain of the mysteries are explained to those who are able to test them. And, still more remarkable, the laws of truth are prophesied by the written legislation—all these being recorded serially with a power truly befitting the wisdom of God. For it was fixed that the dress also of spiritual things—I speak of the bodily part of the Scriptures—should not play a useless part in many cases, but should be able to make the multitude better, as they have the capacity.” (IV, i, 14.)

#### ORIGEN AGAINST CELSUS.

*Book One.*—In the preface Origen says that, although Christianity is its own defense, and is rather weakened by an attempted defense of man, he will comply with Ambrosius’s request and refute the work of Celsus, since some may be affected by it. In the first twenty-seven chapters various charges of Celsus himself are considered: among others, that the Christian miracles were works of sorcery; that Christianity is simply a blind faith, and that it despises wisdom; that the Jews, on whose faith Christianity is based, were not a learned people, and that the Hebrew shepherds were deluded into the belief in one God Almighty, of whom they knew nothing; and that the Jews worshiped angels and practiced witchcraft. It is also asked, How could Jesus himself in his few years have wrought his beneficent work, without divine assistance, this work being of such vast extent and reaching to all classes? Here a Jew is introduced as talking with Jesus, and accusing him of having invented his birth from a virgin, etc.<sup>1</sup> In replying to this, Origen shows that

this crucified Jesus, with every disadvantage, has influenced the world more than any general or philosopher; that it is not incredible that one should die for the world; and that "probably there is in the nature of things . . . such a constitution that one just man, dying voluntarily for the common good, makes a sacrifice which averts wicked spirits," the cause of calamities. But why does the Jew resort to a charge of adultery for the origin of Jesus, instead of making him the son of Joseph, if there is no ground for the gospel account? And how unworthy such a wicked origin for such a worker of all good! The Jew ignores the prophecy that the Messiah should be born of a virgin, the appropriateness and possibility of which birth is here shown. Would a magician teach, as did Jesus, the fear of God? The "True Discourse" of Celsus is shown to be wanting in method and order. The inappropriateness of a Jew's objecting to the vision of the Holy Ghost descending as a dove is suggested, and the truth of that event is said to be proved by the works of Jesus, and by those wrought even yet by his disciples. The physical heavens were not in reality parted; the nature of the vision was rather like that of the prophet's visions, there being needed therefor a certain divine perception. The Jew sets aside the strongest evidence in confirmation of the claims of Jesus, viz., that his coming was predicted by the Jewish prophets. Very unlike a Jew, he uses the expression, "But my prophet once said in Jerusalem that the Son of God will come, the Judge of the righteous and the Punisher of the wicked"; but he ignores the prophecies as to the place of Jesus' birth, as to the scepter not departing from Judah until he should come, and as to his sufferings and death. This last prophecy is shown not to be of the Jewish people, as the rabbis claim, but of an individual. The Jew has failed to notice that the

prophecies speak of two advents of Christ, one characterized by humility and suffering, one by glory, to which latter the forty-fifth Psalm refers. After contrasting Jesus with false claimants to the messiahship adduced by the Jew, the visit of the Magi, whom the Jew ignorantly calls Chaldeans, is considered. Philosophers have held that upon the occurrence of important events celestial bodies, like comets, appear. Much more, then, was it fitting that the advent of one who was to give a new doctrine to the race should be so signalized. The Magi, thwarted in their divinations by the heavenly presences which attended the birth of Christ, were led to seek him out by the prophecy of Balaam concerning the Star out of Jacob, preserved among themselves. The twelve disciples—not ten or eleven, as says Celsus—taught the truth by divine power, for they were unlearned men. Celsus believes everything in the Gospel which seems to make for his views, as, for example, Barnabas's statement that Jesus chose his disciples from wicked men; but he can not believe other statements. Why does he not allude to Paul, "the founder, after Jesus, of the churches that are in Christ"? These disciples of Jesus, it must be remembered, at once abandoned their wickedness, as have multitudes ever since, upon coming to Christ. The charges of the Jew that Jesus and his followers lived by importunity, and that it was necessary for him to flee into Egypt to avoid being killed, are answered. Contrary to the Jew, the works of Jesus in the establishment of his churches and in changing the characters of men are said to make good his claims. Objections to Jesus' human body, and to his eating, and speaking with a voice, if a God, are answered. Celsus's resort to calumnious abuse of Jesus, it is claimed, proves that he lacks the philosophic mind necessary to this examination.

*Book Two.*—Here are met the Jew's charges against Christian converts. They have forsaken, he says, the law of their fathers; or, basing their faith upon Judaism, they then despise it. In reply, Jesus' teachings and practices are cited. How should *we* have failed to recognize the Messiah, had he come? asks the Jew. How, it is answered, could we who preach righteousness, and to whom the divine power which was among you has been transferred, be ungodly? The desertion of Jesus by his followers is then discussed; also Jesus' predictions of his own and his followers' sufferings, and of the fall of Jerusalem. Jesus, it is claimed, did really suffer, and that willingly, having foreseen that his course would lead to such an end. The foreknowledge and prediction of the event, however, did not compel, and so did not excuse, his betrayer; nor did Jesus plot to make his follower a traitor. Celsus is charged with exaggerating Jesus' shrinking from suffering, and omitting his "Thy will be done." To the charge that the Christian accounts are not credible, it is answered that the writers might have omitted anything they chose, had their purpose only been to seem plausible. That some have falsified the gospels is no argument against those gospels. The Jew's charge that the prophecies would apply to a thousand other things as well as to Jesus is not a proper one for a Jew. Celsus ought rather to have examined each prophecy and answered it. Only animosity could prompt the saying of the Jew that "they [the prophets] did not predict such a pestilence." To the assertion that the advent of the Son of God should have been as obvious as the sun, the universal peace under Augustus and the notable occurrence at the crucifixion are cited. The crucifier of Jesus, Pilate, it is said, was not punished. No, but the Jewish people were. The absence of

vengeance, too, accords with our experience of Providence. Celsus omits the centurion's "This man was the Son of God." The Jews neither believe nor explain the prophecies of him who suffered for mankind.<sup>2</sup> Celsus, unphilosophically, fails to see that the preëminence of Christ is due to the preaching of salvation and a pure morality, which is now done in his name throughout the world. And after converting a multitude here—not "ten sailors and tax-gatherers" merely—Jesus went to the abode of spirits and converted such as were willing. If his disciples forsook him at his death, they afterward confessed him unto death. If, as Celsus charges, Christ's miracles were invented, we should be told of many raised from the dead instead of three persons. Christians to-day do greater works than Christ, the healing of the soul surpassing that of the body. To the Jew, Jesus is shown to be equally defensible with Moses. Jesus' resurrection is contrasted with assumed Greek analogies. The darkness at that event, it is claimed, is proved by Phlegon's testimony as to an eclipse; thus our evidence is not the mere fancies of dreamers. To the objection that he did not appear publicly to all, it is said that his nature was such that none could see him save those who received eyes capable of such sight. He did not guard himself from the sight of any, save as they were not fitted to behold him. His appearances were like those of God in the Old Testament. All the several parts of the event of his death and burial have a symbolic meaning. Our knowledge of God as one who leads the righteous to the light and punishes the wicked is from Jesus and his disciples. That he would not of necessity have been received if divine, is proved by the Jews' revolts from Jehovah. The charge that Jesus used denunciation is answered by citing the same thing in the



Old Testament and in Homer. That Jesus can not now be seen is no more an objection to the resurrection than the invisibility of God. Christ did not come in order that the Jews might not believe; but, when they did not believe, he through prophecy used the fact for the calling of the Gentiles. To the Jew's conclusion that Jesus was but a man, it is asked, How could a man in his own strength, and with so great opposition, have accomplished what he has accomplished?

*Book Three.*—Celsus, now in his own person, asserts that the ground of controversy between Jews and Christians is the mere "shadow of an ass." Is, then, the fulfillment of such prophecies in Christ so insignificant? If miracles are to be admitted among the Greeks, how much more among the chosen people of God! For the Hebrews were such a chosen people, and not revolting Egyptians. Nor were the Christians rebels against the Jewish State. The sacrifices made by the first Christians to win all must disprove the charge that they would not have all the world join them if they could. The existence of heresies no more invalidates Christianity than medicine or philosophy. Indeed, such were foretold by Paul. Ophites, however, are not Christians. That the existing union among Christians is not produced by a common fear is proved by the fact that they are not now persecuted. We teach no "terrors," save the punishment of the wicked, which Celsus admits. What analogy can there be between the Egyptian worship, which, in magnificent temples, honors a crocodile, and our worship of Jesus Christ, who brings benefit and salvation to the whole world? Nor do Christians repel wise men. Let those who are of Celsus's opinion examine the Epistles of Paul. There is indeed a higher esoteric teaching, delivered not to those without, but to advanced disciples only.

“This low jester Celsus, evidently feigning his belief in Æsculapius, Hercules, etc., out of fear of the charge of atheism, ascribes to the former healings and prophecies. But these are no title to reverence when unaccompanied by virtue. Let any neutral party judge between the acts of Jesus and those of Aristæas, for example, as to which was accomplishing some good purpose of Providence. The desire of Jesus was to commend himself as a divine and human Saviour.”<sup>3</sup> The favorable contrast of Christian assemblies and rulers with those of the cities is here noted. Such persons as Abaris, Antinous, etc., who conferred no benefit upon the race, are not to be once compared with Jesus. To the charge that we believe upon simple faith we say: True, we do have confidence in the artless words of the gospels, which contain no sophistry; but this faith produces in our minds just such a change in regard to idol-worship as common sense would produce. It is asked of us, If Jesus, laying aside his corruptible body, was a God, why was not Æsculapius the same? He did nothing to improve the character of men, and was himself not free from evil. Christians do not despise but esteem wisdom, but recognize a wisdom of God above the wisdom of the world. Wisdom is required of bishops. Milk, indeed, is suited to babes, and strong meat to men, yet we do call all to the Christian life. To the charge that employees in households seduce the women and children to their faith, but are silenced by the approach of the master and father, it is said that Christians do not draw any away from virtue or virtuous teachers, and are ready to teach before virtuous fathers. We invite sinners first to be cured, then to share in the mysteries, since wisdom will not enter the soul of the base. Celsus’s charge that we say that God will not receive righteous men is malicious. None in-

deed are without sin, and Christ does not prefer a sinner over a righteous man, but the sinner who repents. Our assemblies, however, are composed chiefly of men who have not been grossly wicked. True, it is a difficult thing to change a man who is wicked by nature; but philosophical discourse does do this for a few, and Christianity does it for multitudes through the Word of God. To the assertion that no wise man accepts Christianity because the multitudes do, it is answered: Would you not then keep the laws? What "skilled physicians" do we, as we are charged, keep men from, when we say to men, not "Heed us," but "Heed God"? It is not so much "the wicked" who are won by the Gospel, as "the unpolished," who are influenced "through fear of what are called in the Word, 'everlasting punishments'"; "for the doctrine of punishment is both attended with utility and is agreeable to truth, and is stated in obscure terms with advantage." We no more deceive men with vain hopes than did Plato, and such a charge proves Celsus an Epicurean. Let him show us what "better things" we despise.

*Book Four.*—Instead of citing the prophecies, Celsus simply declares that the Christians' claim that a certain God or Son of God has come, and the Jews' claim that such a one will come, is a "most shameless assertion." Did he not know then, Celsus says, what was doing on earth? or was he unable to save without coming, that he descended to earth? He did know, and could have saved men, but not without destroying their free will. God did not at that time first bethink himself of blessing men; he has always blessed them. In the division of the nations (Deut. xxxii, 8, 9) Israel was assigned to the Lord, and so to that people came the prophets and then the Christ. To Celsus's charge that what we say of floods and conflagrations is a misunderstanding of Greek writings,

it is answered that Moses was more ancient than the Greeks. These events, we hold, do not come in conformity with planetary revolutions, but on account of the wickedness of men. Celsus taunts us with holding that God comes "like a torturer, bearing fire," thus compelling us to explain that the "fire" must be understood figuratively.<sup>4</sup> Celsus says that upon our view either God changed to a mortal, which was impossible, or he deceived by seeming to do this, which was not allowable, save as a medicine for the sick or as a defense against enemies. Now no sick man could be a friend of God that he should desire to heal him, and he has no enemies worthy of such efforts. The answer to this is, that the Word adapts himself to the wants of all classes of men, but does not in so doing prove false to his own nature. Moreover, he did come to heal those sick in soul, and so to reconcile the enemies of God. Why should Jewish and Christian ideas of one coming to purify the earth be absurd, when Plato taught the same of the gods? And why compare Jews and Christians to frogs and worms wrangling? If because of their inferiority to God, this holds of all men; if from their want of virtue, why not call wicked men of the Greeks frogs and worms? Besides, Christians are free from evil, which adheres even to apparent philosophers. Christians do not think that God abandoned heaven and despised the earth to devote himself exclusively to them; yet they claim to be made in God's image, and to become like him by virtue. The Jews, whose polity was changed to the Christian, were a nation of philosophers, and of great antiquity. The symbolical interpretation of our Scriptures is not to be denied to us when such explanations of everything difficult in the mythologies is allowed. Some of these allegorical interpretations—e. g., Philo's—would be acknowledged

even by the Greeks to be beautiful. Celsus reasons that "the soul is of God," but that "the nature of body is different"; and that in this respect "the body of a man differs in no wise from the body of a bat, . . . for the matter is the same." But, if this is so, then God is not the maker of the heavenly bodies, since they too are of matter. Besides, some bodies ought to be treated with more respect than others: why this, if all are alike? Celsus says that there have never been more or fewer evils, and that it is difficult for any but a philosopher to understand the origin of evil. Truly it is difficult, indeed impossible, even for a philosopher, to understand this, save by inspiration: it is needful to this end to learn about the devil and how he became such, and about demons. For evil is not from matter, but from mind. It may redound to the public good, but this does not excuse the evil-doer. To the charge that God threatens unbecomingly, it is said that God is speaking to men, and that the "wrath" of God involves no passion on his part. To Celsus's denial that the world was made for man, and his claim that there is no difference between men and ants, it is said that animals are not reflective. Man alone is made in the image of God; for Christians can not accept the Platonic idea that all souls are of the same species, whether in men or animals. That men augur the future from birds is no proof that birds foreknow events. If they did, it would not prove, as says Celsus, their knowledge of God. Nor are animals nearer to God than men, for only religious character, like that of Moses and the prophets, brings even men near to God. It is absurd, too, for Celsus to say that assemblies of birds are more sacred than gatherings of philosophers like Socrates and Plato. God is not angry with apes and flies; but upon man he does bring judgments.

*Book Five.*—Celsus's claim that "no God or Son of God has come down or will come down [to earth]" is contrary to the common opinion of mankind. Here, however, the reader must choose to reject either belief in God and in providence or Celsus's claims; for here he is convicted of being an Epicurean. Angels are not to be worshiped, but only the Supreme God through the Word; "for to invoke angels without having obtained a knowledge concerning them greater than is possessed by men were not reasonable." The Jews worship no creature whatever. To Celsus's charge that Christians hold that God, "as if he were a cook," will burn up all the world but themselves, it is said that the fire will be rather a purifying flame; and yet that the severe language of punishment is used deliberately, and with the purpose of winning simple minds through fear. The Christian doctrine of the resurrection is not, as Celsus supposes, that the actual corruptible flesh and blood of our bodies will rise, as is shown in 1 Corinthians. A certain power, however, is implanted in the body, which is not destroyed. To the argument that every nation should cling to its own ancestral laws, it is said that religion is an absolute duty, like the virtue of courage, etc., and so differences should not obtain. Besides, in the division of the nations, God retained the government of those who remained true to the original ideas; while the other nations received laws not themselves good, but tending to make them sated with sin, which, therefore, Christians reject. The law of nature—i. e., of God—should displace the written laws of the nations, if they come into conflict. The name of God is not a matter of indifference, as is proved by its use in incantations. Circumcision and abstinence from swine's flesh are not the same things to Jews and Egyptians. That God did signally favor the Jews

before Jesus came is proved by events in the reign of Alexander. This favor has since been transferred to the Christians, as appears from the fact that the Romans have not triumphed over them. Celsus says that, granting Jesus to be an angel, there were also other angels. But Jesus was more than an angel; none of these made effort for the conversion of the human race. Christians, as Celsus says, have the same Scripture history with the Jews; but Christians do not interpret the books in the same literal way with the Jews. Those who deny that the God of the Jews and of the Christians is the same, we repudiate as heretics; but this is nothing against us, for there are heretics in philosophy. Christians do not revile and hate one another on account of differences of opinion. Celsus, although declaring that we have no foundation for our doctrine, goes on to compare certain of our sayings with what he considers the more correct philosophic statement of the same principles, which, he says, we have not understood.

*Book Six.*—Those who love men should adapt their teachings not to philosophic minds alone, but to all men, as does Christianity. Thus, in discoursing of the “chief good,” Plato’s eloquent talk of the “light” did not influence men to righteousness, not even himself; but the Scripture teaching—e. g., Rom. i, 18–23—does so lead men. The Scriptures recognize the worth of the Socratic method of teaching, and the writers had wisdom revealed to them beyond what they wrote. Christians are not, as Celsus intimates, boastful, nor are they unwise, urging to inconsiderate belief. There are no conflicting claimants to be the Son of God and Saviour, Simon Magus and Dositheus being utter nonentities. Christians have not borrowed from Plato their ideas of the super-celestial God, but Plato borrowed from the Jews. Christians, after their troubles here,

expect to reach the highest heavens, there to be "ever intent upon the invisible things of God," seeing invisible things "face to face." The Christian idea of heaven is well set forth by Philo. A certain diagram commented on by Celsus as a Christian production is said by Origen to be known to himself, and is repudiated as an Ophitic work. Celsus claims to have seen in the hands of certain presbyters "barbarous books, containing the names and monstrous doings of demons"; and that "these presbyters of our faith professed nothing good, but all things to the injury of human beings." This charge is so palpably false that it refutes itself. Magic, although it may overcome philosophers, can not entrap praying Christians. Celsus misrepresents the Christian idea of the devil. The ancient teaching of this doctrine in the books of Moses and in Job proves that it can not be from a misunderstanding of the Greek stories of the wars of the gods. Satan was the first of the good spirits in whom iniquity was found; but every one who prefers vice is a Satan, i. e., an "adversary" to the Son of God, who is righteousness and truth and wisdom, which may be learned of the nature of evil from the prophecies. "It was fitting that God, knowing how to use rightly even those who in wickedness have apostatized, should collect evil-doers of this sort somewhere in the universe, and appoint a training school for virtue for those desiring to strive lawfully for its recovery." Such ideas were never dreamed of by Celsus. The doctrine of Antichrist—i. e., of a person who is the opposite of one who realizes the ideal given in Jesus—is not deserving of ridicule. It is set forth in the Scriptures in 2 Thes. ii, 1-12, and Dan. viii, 23-25 and ix, 27. The term "Son of God" was not derived from the heathen world. The whole church, consisting of believers, is animated by the Son of God,



and so the person of Jesus is not to be separated from the First-born of all creation. The Mosaic cosmogony is anything but "silly," as Celsus defines it. Christians do not regard God as the author of evil properly so called; but such a view would follow from the teachings of Celsus. Evils, in the sense of punishments designed for correction, God did create. To Celsus's question, "How is it that God is incapable of persuading men?" it is answered that the wills of men may resist. As to God's "repenting" of having made men, Origen denies such a Scripture statement. God rather "grieved." He did not put the men out of existence whom he removed by the deluge. Celsus misunderstands the meaning of God's "resting." We do not understand this term literally, nor do we affirm form, color, motion, or substance of God. But no Christian needs therefore to ask, "How then shall I know God?" as Celsus supposes. We know God through God the Word, and are saved by him. The sight of God, however, was not made easy by the incarnation save to the pure in heart. The expression, "God is a Spirit," Celsus has not understood. Our ideas of spirit are unlike those of the Stoics; we hold it to be invisible, incorporeal, and indestructible, and so can not entertain Celsus's objection that the Son of God was not immortal. Celsus's assertions as to the mean personal appearance of Christ are based on prophecies, which also speak of his glorious aspect. Moreover, Jesus did appear differently to men, according to their spiritual apprehension of him. The rays of the "Sun of righteousness" were sent forth into the souls of all who would receive; these are all, in a sense, "christs," that is, anointed ones. God was not, as intimated by Celsus, ignorant of what sufferings his Son would encounter.

*Book Seven.*—Saying that the prophecies are the

chief reliance of Christians as evidences, Celsus brings forward the Pythian and other oracles as equally deserving of regard. The prophets, it is answered, were inspired by the Holy Ghost; the Pythian priestess by demons, such as are cast out by the simplest of Christians. The prophets were themselves reverend characters, contrasting greatly with the priestesses of the oracles. None now utter prophecies save Christians, among whom the prophetic spirit still exists in a modified form. Celsus cites certain persons still in Palestine and Phœnicia who speak as if inspired, saying, "I am God," or, "I am the Divine Spirit," etc., and denouncing woes on those who do not receive them; but his references to them and their prophecies are too vague to serve as arguments against the real prophecy. As to the dark sayings in prophecy, it may be said that the Scriptures are not unintelligible, nor can any fool or impostor make them mean what he will. They contain nothing at all which is impure or shameful; nor did God do shameless deeds, or suffer shameless sufferings, or favor the commission of evil, as Celsus charges. The prophecies affirm the death, not of "the Life," but of the man Jesus. There is no conflict between the Old and the New Testaments, for the Old has a spiritual meaning. The spiritual and literal meanings, when seemingly contradictory, are not really so. Our idea of the "land" of rest to which we go at death was not borrowed from Plato or others, but was given by Moses. The "land flowing with milk and honey" is not to be identified with Judea, save in a figure, but with the heavenly land. Plato's fancy that the luster of precious stones was from a reflection of the stones of that better land seems to have been derived from Isaiah. The existence of real things corresponding to the common things in use among men is taught by Moses and the proph-

ets.<sup>6</sup> Our doctrine of the resurrection—"a high and difficult doctrine," teaching that there is a seminal principle lodged in what the Scripture speaks of as the "tabernacle" of the soul—is not derived from the idea of metempsychosis.<sup>6</sup> We do not consider it needful to have a body in order to see God; since to see God belongs to the pure in heart. For Celsus to make us defend an apprehension of God by the senses is an offense like that of Euripides in putting maxims from Anaxagoras into the mouth of a slave woman. The gods in human form, said by Celsus to be ever present at the oracles, are demons. If, as charged, the risen Christ was only a phantasm, whence comes his power? Celsus commends to us the "wise men and philosophers." Whom, for example, to our neglect of the Scriptures? If Plato, we prefer the teachings concerning God the Word, "who was made flesh" in order that to all men the truth might make speed, which [truth], Plato says, "could not, even being found out, be made known to all men." This knowledge of God is not to be attained by simple reasoning, but by the assistance of the grace of God. Celsus's reproaches of Christians are simple slanders, for even the unlearned among them live more purely than many philosophers; living not "with the body," but in the Spirit. To Celsus's question why we did not adopt a leader who died more worthily, e. g., Jonah or Daniel, answer is made by showing the dignity of Christ's silence and his words at his sufferings and death. It is no disparagement of Christian truths that certain of them were uttered by Plato—Scripture itself says, "Thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things"; and to utter these truths, as Scripture does, so as to feed the multitudes, is commendable. Such a plain and forcible presentation of truth is in no wise a corruption of it. Christians do not condemn the wor-

ship of images on the same ground with the Scythians and the Persians: When it is urged that men worship, not the image but that which it represents, we say we would avoid the appearance of worshipping images. Celsus claims that demons, if the gods be such, are the work of the Most High, and so should be worshiped. We reply that the wickedness of demons is not of God, but is opposed to him; and so we shun their worship, as we would avoid death. Still it is a grave question whether God may not have committed to them certain inferior departments of government.

*Book Eight.*—In remembering that “No man can serve two masters,” and then refusing to worship demons, we are not, as charged, seditious. We refrain, from fear of injuring, not God, but ourselves. Celsus is challenged to show that the Most High has given to the gods the right to receive homage. This right has, however, been given to Christ, who is one with God, “the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person”: hence we do not invalidate our position in worshipping him. Celsus quotes from a work of some “most obscure sect,” called “A Heavenly Dialogue,” to show that we make the Son of man superior to God. This book we repudiate. The Son rules, however, over all created things, though not in the fullest sense over things alienated from him. Our altars and statues are in our hearts. By imitating the Saviour, the most perfect image of God, we rear such statues. Our temples are our bodies, the chief temple having been the body of Christ, destroyed and reared again in three days. We do not refrain from building temples as a badge of a secret society. Our reason for not taking part in the public feasts is not that God is jealous, but that they are wrong. Allusion is here made to the Christian festivals.<sup>7</sup> Offerings to idols we hold to

be injurious, as is shown in 1 Corinthians. We have no cause to fear from demons, for the Lord appoints his angels to watch over us. To Celsus's claim that our principles should lead us to abstain from all animal food, we reply: No; both Jesus' words and the council at Jerusalem sanction the use of meats, save of such as are offered to idols, together with things strangled and blood. We abstain from flesh, not for the same reason as from crime, but lest harmless things may lead to harm; nor for the same reason as the Pythagoreans, from belief that souls of men may have entered the bodies of brutes, which is not true. We honor alone the reasonable soul, and its bodily organs we commit to the grave with due respect, never casting them out like the carcasses of brutes. Not demons, but good angels, preside over all things on earth, unless it be over frosts, blights, etc. We are subject only to the Most High, his angels being to us ministering spirits, and demons having power over us only as we are alienate from him. To a charge of Celsus, it is answered that "the Greeks use Greek names, the Romans Latin names, and thus every one prays and sings praises to God as he is able in his own dialect." Our doctrine of punishment is that each shall bear his own sins. God, who suffered the Jews to crucify Christ, did afterward punish them by destroying their city, though it was not out of revenge. Demons are overcome by the death of martyrs, and on this account persecutions have now ceased for a time, but will be resumed when this power is forgotten. Comparing the heathen oracles with the oracles of the Lord, it is said that the apostles, unlearned men, would hardly have forsaken the ways of their fathers but for a miraculous power conferred upon them as Christians. That heathen priests do teach "eternal punishment" is allowed; but do they so

teach this as to secure the great end of the doctrine, viz., the reformation of men? For us to abandon Christianity would be, beyond doubt, to abandon this idea of rewards and punishments, which Celsus himself commends. It is unbecoming in Celsus to cast aside without examination the doctrines concerning God of a people like the Jews. Celsus claims that the bodies of men are given over to "certain keepers of this prison-house." But whom do the gospels show to have had power over these keepers? We live righteously, unconcerned about demons, and anxious rather to show our gratitude to God. "As a symbol of gratitude to God, we have the bread which we call the Eucharist." So far from fearing demons, we have God in our favor, and also tens of thousands of angels, who even unasked pray for us, and with us.<sup>8</sup> We are not seditious toward kings, who are appointed of God; but we will not ingratiate ourselves by doing evil. To the inquiry as to what would happen should the Romans adopt Christianity, it is answered that, instead of becoming a prey to their enemies, they would overcome them all; or rather, they would not war at all, being guarded by divine power. Discussing the possibility of a universal dominion of the Word, it is said that the consummation of all things will be the destruction of evil, but whether so that it will not rise again can not be said.<sup>9</sup> Instead of fighting or taking office, Christians serve the state more effectively in the church, "another institution of the country founded by the Word of God." Celsus's "True Discourse" and this work must now be judged upon their respective merits.

*"Glory be to Thee, our God; Glory be to Thee."*

## EXTRACTS FROM ORIGEN AGAINST CELSUS.

1. . . . "And reproaches him 'with being born in a Jewish village, of a woman of the country, poor, and spinning for hire.' And says that 'she was put away by her husband, a carpenter by trade, being accused as an adulteress.' Then he says that, 'driven away by her husband, and wandering about dishonorably, she secretly gave birth to Jesus; and that he, having hired himself out in Egypt on account of poverty, and having there acquired certain powers on which the Egyptians pride themselves, returned, greatly elated over the powers, and on account of them he proclaimed himself a God.'" (I, 28.)

2. "For the benefit of mankind he underwent these things, having for the aim of his first advent, not the condemning of men's acts, before teaching and instructing [them] as to their duty, and not the punishing of the bad and the saving of the good, but the spreading of his truth in a marvelous way and with a certain divine power to the whole race of men, as the prophet also represented these things." (II, 38.)

3. "For both Jesus himself and his disciples not only desired that his followers should believe in his godhead and his miracles, . . . but they also saw that the power which had descended into human nature and into the midst of human miseries, and had assumed a human soul and body, through faith wrought together with the divine for the salvation of believers. They see that from him the human and the divine began to be woven together, in order that the human, by communion with the divine, might become divine, not only in Jesus, but in all who, besides believing, enter upon the life which Jesus taught, and which exalts to friendship

with God and communion with him every one living according to the teachings of Jesus." (III, 28.)

4. "The wicked man, accordingly, is said to build, upon the previously laid foundation of reason, wood, hay, stubble. If, then, it can be shown that these things were otherwise understood by the writer, and any one is able to prove that the wicked man literally builds wood, hay, stubble, evidently the fire, too, may be understood as material and sensible. But if, on the contrary, the works of the wicked man, said to be wood, hay, stubble, are spoken of figuratively, how does it not instantly occur to one in what sense the 'fire' is taken, in order that such 'wood' may be consumed? for, says [Scripture], 'The fire will try each man's work, of what sort it is.'" (IV, 13.)

5. "The most ancient teaching of Moses and the prophets recognizes that all things which are real are similar in name to things which are in common use. Thus there is the true light, and another heaven beyond the firmament; and the 'Sun of righteousness,' other than the visible [sun]. And in general, over against the sensible, of which nothing is real, it says, 'God, his works are truth'; placing the works of God by themselves, and those called the works of his hands as inferior." (VII, 31.)

6. "The soul, in its very nature incorporeal and invisible, coming into any corporeal place, has need of a body suited to the nature of that place; which accordingly it wears; having put off the once necessary but [now] superfluous one, as if for a second; and having put it on in addition to what it had before, needing a better covering for the pure and ethereal and heavenly places. And coming into the world at birth, it has put off that which was needful for the [existence] in the womb, so long as its place was there, and has put on in its stead



what is necessary for the present life upon earth. Then again, there being a certain 'tabernacle' and an 'earthly house' somehow needful to the tabernacle, Scripture teaches that the earthly house of this tabernacle shall be dissolved, but that the tabernacle shall 'be clothed upon with a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'" (VII, 32.)

7. "But if any one should urge against us on this point our observances as to the Lord's day, the Preparation, the Passover, or Pentecost, the reply to this is that a perfect man who belongs always to his natural Lord, the Word of God, in thought, word, and deed, is always his in days, and is always keeping the Lord's day." . . . "But the larger and unadvanced part of the believers, since they are not willing or able thus to observe all days, have need of sensible memorials as a reminder, in order that they may not lose sight of the end. And I think that Paul had this in mind, when he designated the feast on days set apart from others as 'part of the feast.'" \* (VIII, 22, 23.)

8. "They"—all angels, souls, and spirits who are friends of God—"seek his favor [for them] and join in praying and supplicating: so that we say boldly that when men aspire after better things, praying to God, myriads of such sacred powers pray with them unasked." (VIII, 64.)

9. "We declare that the Word will some time subdue the whole rational creation and change every soul into his own perfection, in which each shall, in his own strength, desire what he will and shall have what he desires. And we say that it is not true that, as among wounds and diseases which come to bodies some are stronger than all medical skill, so among souls there are some unable to be cured of evil by the Supreme Word and God. For

\* *μέρει ἑορτῆς.* (Col. ii, 16.)

the Word and the healing power in him being stronger than every evil, he applies this by the will of God to every soul. And the end of all things is to destroy evil; but whether or not so that it will never be able anywhere to change, it is not for the present discourse to teach." (VIII, 72.)

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### GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.

GREGORY the Wonder-worker was born in Pontus in the second decade of the third century, of a family of wealth and position. While a young man, he and his brother traveled abroad, in the prosecution of their studies. They visited Alexandria, Athens, Berytus, and Cæsarea of Palestine, at which place he met with Origen, who so attracted him to himself that he gave up studying at the law school at Berytus, and instead studied for five years under this Christian teacher. Besides receiving instruction in all branches of secular learning, he was taught by him in Biblical science and Christian truth. Returning to Pontus, he was followed by a letter from Origen, urging him to the ministry, upon which he withdrew into the wilderness; but so fit did he seem for the office that the church of Neo-Cæsarea ordained him its bishop in his absence. Returning to his charge, he administered it so well that it was said that, in place of seventeen Christians in the city when he began, there were only seventeen pagans there when, about A. D. 270, he died. While under his care the church suf-

ferred much in the Decian persecution, and from the invasions of the barbarians. His surname, Thaumaturgus, came from the belief that he wrought many miracles. Besides his "Declaration of Faith," we have by him a "Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes," a "Panegyric on Origen," and a "Canonical Epistle."

#### A DECLARATION OF FAITH.

There is one God, the Father of the living Word, [his] subsistent wisdom and power and eternal image: perfect begetter of the perfect [begotten], Father of the only begotten Son.

There is one Lord, only of only, God of God, the image and likeness of the Godhead, efficient Word, wisdom comprehensive of the constitution of all things, and power which produces all creation; true Son of the true Father, Invisible of Invisible, Incorruptible of Incorruptible and Immortal of Immortal, and Eternal of Eternal.

And there is one Holy Ghost, having his existence from God, and being manifested by the Son, namely, to men; the perfect likeness of the perfect Son; life, the cause of the living; [sacred fount;] sanctity, the leader of sanctification; in whom is revealed God the Father, who is over all things and in all things, and God the Son, who is through all things: a perfect Trinity, in glory and eternity and sovereignty, neither divided nor estranged.

Neither, indeed, is there anything created or subservient in the Trinity, nor superinduced, as though not before existent, but introduced afterward; nor, indeed, has the Son ever been wanting to the Father, nor the Spirit to the Son, but, unvarying and unchangeable, the same Trinity [subsists] for ever.

## OTHER GREEK WRITERS.

WHILE the works of the fathers named are the chief treasures of the Greek Christian writings of our period, a few other names deserve mention.

Caius, a presbyter of Rome early in the third century, has left a name as a writer; but, rejecting his conjectured authorship of the "Muratorian Fragment" and the "Little Labyrinth," we have none of his works.—A distinguished Christian of the age was Julius Africanus. Jerome relates that the city where he resided, Nicopolis in Palestine, once sent him on a mission to the Emperor Helio-gabalus. His chief work, a "Chronography" in five books, was the first Christian history of the world; only fragments of it are extant. We have from him a critical letter to Origen, questioning the scriptural authority of the story of Susanna; and a letter to Aristides on the genealogies of Matthew and Luke.—Not to be forgotten because of their brevity, are a few extracts from letters of Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, who was a prominent personage in the controversies over Origen.—Perhaps the most important Greek father of the age, after the five to whom special place has been given, was Dionysius of Alexandria, to whom Eusebius gives much prominence in his history. As a friend of Origen, and also Bishop of Alexandria, and the friend and correspondent of bishops of Rome, his influence was felt by all branches of the church. In the formation of his beliefs, he exercised great

freedom of inquiry. Remonstrated with for reading heretical writings, he declared that he had heard a voice from God, saying to him, "Read whatever falls into thy hands, for thou art capable of judging and proving all things; and from the first this has been to *thee* the occasion of faith." His Christian moderation also was very marked, and enabled him to compose differences among the churches. Though a prolific writer, only fragments of his works have come down to us. There are extracts from a "Treatise on the Promises," from his "Book on Nature," directed against the Epicureans, and from his "Book against Sabelius"; also certain exegetical fragments, and a number of epistles.

Before the middle of the third century, Gnosticism had accomplished its appointed work, and was no longer a power; but the third quarter of the century witnessed the rise of Manichæism, another so-called heresy, though it utterly disclaimed the Christian name, which was to continue in one and another form, down to the Reformation. Of the origin of Mani, its founder, we have conflicting accounts. Suffice it to say that he was a Chaldean or a Persian, and that his system was a blending of the dogmas of Magism with Buddhist views, under the garb of Biblical history. Prominent among its teachings was the Oriental dualism. It held that the Paraclete promised by Christ had appeared in Mani. Archelaus, a bishop in Mesopotamia, held a disputation with this heresiarch, A. D. 277; and he ranks among the authors of the age from his account of this dispu-

tation and of the origin of Mani.—Another writer upon Manichæism whose work has reached us, was Alexander, Bishop of Lycopolis, who before his conversion to Christianity was an adherent of that faith.

A writer toward the close of our period, remembered chiefly because he opposed the doctrines of a great man, was Methodius. Of his work against Origen, we have only extracts. His one complete writing extant is the “Banquet of the Ten Virgins,” a book celebrating the unmarried state in a style and language most distasteful to modern readers. Among other brief remains, we have by him a “Discourse on the Resurrection.” An extant dialogue on Free Will, ascribed to him, has also been referred to Maximus, an author of the age, mentioned by Eusebius.—Contemporary with and a little later than Methodius were two writers of Alexandria, both bishops of that city. The first, Peter, who died a martyr, A. D. 311, wrote certain canons on the position of the lapsed. Alexander, who lived until shortly after the Nicene Council, has transmitted to us some minor works, among them two epistles on the Arian heresy.

To complete the list for the period, we simply add the names of Asterius Urbanus, who wrote against the Montanists; the Alexandrian writers, Theognostus, Pierias, and Theonas; Malchion of Antioch; Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicea; Phileas, Macarius Magnus, and Pamphilus, Origen’s friend and apologist; all of whom have left inconsiderable remains.

Allusion should also be made to certain Ante-Nicene Syriac documents, which were discovered some decades since, in a monastery in Lower Egypt, and which preserve some interesting memorials of the introduction of Christianity into the region about the city of Edessa.

# LATIN WRITERS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

SPEAKING with some qualifications, the patristic church was Greek, as the primitive church had been Jewish, and the mediæval church was to be Latin. Its unity, like that of the Greek nation, was federative; each church, like each of the Grecian states, was a little commonwealth. As the Greece which resisted the Persians was one, not by any imperial organization, but by common ideas and a common love of liberty, so the church of the fathers was one, not by any organic connection, but by common thoughts and sympathies, above all by a common loyalty to Christ. Naturally the questions which agitated such a church were those which concern the individual soul rather than society. Its members made much of personal beliefs and speculative opinions; and, so long as the old free spirit lasted, they allowed one another large freedom of thought, only requiring that common instinct of loyalty to Christ. Happily for the world, that free spirit did not die out from the East for at least two centuries after Paul had proclaimed the



individual relationship of the soul to God. For, meantime, such thinkers as Justin and Irenæus, and Hippolytus and Clement, and, above all, Origen, within the church, and the better minds among the Gnostics outside the church, had so shown the breadth and adaptations of Christian truth that, when the time came for the iron bands of mediævalism to be broken, the world needed not to grope in the dark, but still found in Christianity a divine guidance.

But already, before that paralysis of the Greek mind which doomed the East to a dead orthodoxy, a division was appearing in the church of the fathers. Though still predominantly Greek, its western churches were beginning to assert something more than an individual freedom. Another type of mind was showing itself, which by and by was not only to cut loose from the Greek, but was to monopolize the aggressive power of Christianity, and pass the faith down to posterity to become the religion of the world. That coming spirit was Roman. At first the churches of the West were as much Greek as those of the East. Even in the church at Rome, so late as the early part of the third century, the speech, the government, and the writings were all Greek. The Christian communities were virtually, in some cases, as in southern Gaul, actually Greek colonies, and members of the great federative Christian body whose center was found in every church and in every believer's heart. But gradually the Latin elements assert themselves in the churches, and, as the old Greek spirit ceases to act upon them from the East, the

Roman spirit takes its place. The Latin type of Christianity which thus in time prevailed over the West, in place of a philosophic and speculative tone, took a more practical bent; instead of spending its energies discussing intricate problems of theology, which begin and end in the individual mind, it concerned itself about public morals, the well-being of society, and the actual powers and responsibilities and destiny of men. The genius of the Greek expressing itself in thought, of the Latin in ruling power, the Christianity which was to the former a body of truth, became to the latter a system of government. Since religions take on national traits by the influence upon them of leading minds who embody the national spirit, Christianity could assume a Latin type only as there appeared in the church superior minds saturated with the Roman spirit. For obvious reasons this new phase of Christianity was earliest developed, not in Rome, but in one of her provinces. The capital was now too cosmopolitan to throb with the old spirit; but in proconsular Africa, where Greek life had had but little influence, she had a dependency more Roman than herself. The governmental idea, therefore, which at the metropolis had to compete with many other ideas, had there complete sway. In Rome there were many measures of greatness. In Carthage nothing was great but the government, while every one connected therewith, from the proconsul down to the private soldier, possessed a certain dignity. Superiority, therefore, which in a resident of Rome might display itself in Greek or even in Asiatic directions, in a North African would be

sure to express itself in some form of governmental power. So it was that, while the leading mind of the Roman Church in this period, Hippolytus, was of the Greek type, the church of North Africa furnished to Christianity its first Latin leaders.

These were Tertullian and Cyprian. Both men were distinctively and intensely Roman. Together they gave to their faith its new stamp, and together they should ever stand as the leading founders of Latin Christianity. Neither alone can claim this distinction; their united claim none can dispute. The Roman idea, it should be considered, was, like the Greek, complex. As the intellectual type of mind displayed itself both in artistic perception and in reflective thought, so the governmental type displayed itself both in legal talents and in a genius for administration. As the Greek culture had been incomplete without either Phidias or Plato, the Roman power had not been itself lacking either Cicero or Cæsar. To impart to Christianity a complete Latin character, there was need of both a Tertullian and a Cyprian as founders, and of an Augustine and a Gregory as the two principal men of the Western Church.

Of the two founders, the earlier, Tertullian, had the more vigorous mind. With a sternness of nature becoming the son of a Roman centurion, he combined a fierceness of temper befitting his Punic birth. An advocate, conversant with the Roman law, possessing also a rich fund of knowledge, he lacked the thorough grammatical training of his successor. Notwithstanding this lack—perhaps in part because of it, since a thorough Greek

training might have cost him something of his native vigor of expression—he had for his task to create much of the language for those spiritual truths which were then new to the Latin tongue. He had also to formulate the requirements of Christianity upon the conduct of men in terms suited to that legal bias which characterized the Roman social and political fabric. The Montanistic ideas which he adopted, so far from unfitting him for this task, only seemed to intensify the Roman in his nature, and helped him to impress upon his work the true Latin stamp.

But upon the foundation of a regard for law, the Roman state had reared a vast political superstructure, which was now its most striking feature. Equally would Christianity, when once the legal foundations were laid, rear thereupon a political fabric, in time to become its most striking feature. To give this element there was needed, not the rude vigor and obscure position of a Tertullian, but the social leverage, the courtly habits, and the administrative genius of a Cyprian. Belonging to a patrician family, possessed of large wealth, having the instincts and the culture of the Roman gentleman, Cyprian, when converted and made Bishop of Carthage, had but to be himself to give the church the foundation of its hierarchical organization. He was accustomed to call Tertullian his master, and his master he was in the sense that the work of the presbyter necessarily preceded the work of the bishop; but we see little resemblance in the distinctive labors of the two men. The chair of the Bishop of Carthage becomes to Cyprian

not simply the seat of a pastor of that city; it is also the throne of the Christian proconsul, whose influence is felt to the bounds of the province. When persecution threatens, he no longer thinks of himself as an individual who may, if he chooses, assume the crown of martyrdom, but as the head of the church in that region, who must live for his charge as a general must live for his army. Diligent, faithful, self-sacrificing to secure the good of the humblest, he yet insists upon his prerogative as bishop in a way hitherto unknown. His presbyters are brought into a rigid subordination; no action of his clergy is to be final until ratified by himself; the other bishops of the province are made to feel that, if all bishops are equal, the Bishop of Carthage is at least *primus inter pares*. But as no proconsul thought of his province as other than a part of a great whole, whose center was on the banks of the Tiber, so Cyprian thought of the African Church as an integral part of the one universal Christian body; and to his Roman mind where else could be the center of a world-wide power if not at Rome? Still, the bishop was as devoutly Christian as he was staunchly Roman, and for what he deems the proper church government he seeks an apostolic constitution. This he finds ("Treatise on the Unity of the Church") in the charge to Peter—"I say unto thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church"—and in the common tradition that the apostle thus honored was the first bishop of the church in Rome. As the successor of Peter, the bishop of the imperial city was to rank as *primus inter pares* with respect to all other bishops, and

so as the head of the church catholic. In a like manner the bishop of the governing city of a province was to be first among his episcopal brethren.

But this century saw more than one infringement upon the imperial constitution of the empire. Almost contemporary with the death of Cyprian came a crisis, when an unworthy Cæsar led the rulers of all the great provinces to aspire to the purple, and we see at one time so-called emperors in Africa and Gaul, and Egypt and Asia, as well as in Rome. So there came a time in Cyprian's short career when what he deemed unworthy administration at Rome led him to act side by side with the Roman bishop Stephen, as a head of the church. First, we find him writing (Epistle 66) to Stephen, telling him what it "behooves" him to do in the church at Arles; then we see him at the head of a council of North African bishops, receiving an appeal from certain churches in Spain, and sending to them instructions for the settlement of a difficulty, which are adverse to those before received from Rome; and then we have a letter from Cyprian to Stephen, informing him, "for the sake of our mutual honor and sincere affection," of what himself and his fellow-bishops in Africa had decreed with regard to an important matter of discipline. In thus exercising for the time a coequal authority with the Bishop of Rome, Cyprian did not forget the unity of the church. On the contrary, he claims to act as he does in the interest of unity, holding, with his correspondent Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea, that Stephen was belying his office as representative of that unity, and bringing in divisions.

But, as in the empire, so in the church, such subversions of order were only temporary, and Latin Christianity tended more and more to the idea of the one Catholic Church, with one head, as a universal regulative power centering at Rome. It is not claimed for Cyprian that he was the first to suggest this Latin conception, but he was its first champion; and his personal preëminence, his firm administration in his own province, his correspondence with churches from Spain to Syria, and his vigorous assertion of the unity of the church as finding expression in the apostle who became Bishop of Rome, all conspired to make him the founder of the ecclesiastical power of the West.

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## TERTULLIAN,

THE Christian Hannibal. Born about A. D. 150 at Carthage, the son of a centurion in the service of the proconsul, Tertullian had all the passionate intensity of the Punic, combined with the stern self-abnegation of the earlier Roman nature. What he loved received the tribute of his entire soul, and what he disliked he combated with the same *abandon*. As the son of Hamilcar had vowed eternal hatred to the Roman name, this Carthaginian would seem, upon becoming a Christian, to have vowed eternal hatred to whatever was anti-Christian. His conversion to Christianity took place in his mature life, and probably after a considera-

ble participation in the vices of heathenism. From Eusebius's information that he was well versed in Roman laws, as well as from the evidence of his own writings, we may reasonably believe that he was an advocate by profession. His mental character is thus summarized by Neander: "Tertullian's mind had acuteness, depth, and dialectic dexterity, but no logical clearness, repose, and arrangement; it was profound and fruitful, but not harmonious; the check of sober self-government was wanting." How soon after conversion he became a presbyter we do not know, but Jerome says that he remained a presbyter of the (Catholic) church until middle life, and was then driven by the envy and ill-treatment of the Roman clergy to embrace the opinions of Montanus. Whether from such external cause, or, as seems likely, from the natural bent of his mind, Tertullian did become a most zealous champion of the New Prophecy introduced by this self-styled Paraclete. Originating in Phrygia, a home of religious enthusiasm, this movement at first confined itself to rousing Christians generally to a more earnest religious life, such as becomes the presence with them of the Holy Ghost, whose fresh outpouring Montanus announced. In this work it found many friends in the church, particularly among those who were bravely enduring persecution, as in the case of the Christians of Vienne and Lyons. But Montanus's ideas of his mission became more exalted, until he claimed to be the Paraclete, the chosen organ of the Holy Ghost for the enlightenment of the church and the perfecting of Christianity. This led to the exclusion of Mon-



tanus and his followers from the communion of the church. But since, apart from these extravagant claims, the sect was thoroughly orthodox, and because, from the stress which it laid upon asceticism, upon scorn of persecution, and love of martyrdom, it was intensely antagonistic to the heathen world, it found in Tertullian a congenial mind. The great enemy of the faith at that time was a speculative gnosticism with which the practical Carthaginian, unlike the Alexandrian fathers, had not the remotest sympathy. Perhaps it was just because the Phrygian's claims of supernatural illumination made him the extremest opponent of the Gnostics that Tertullian became a disciple of Montanus.

As a writer, Tertullian was the first of the Latin fathers. His numerous works were well known and very highly esteemed in the church. Jerome relates that Cyprian had them read to him daily, and in asking for them was accustomed to say, "*Give me my master.*" The longest work was a treatise "Against Marcion," in five books. Other treatises were his "Apology," "On the Prescription of Heretics," "On the Soul," "Against Hermogenes," "Against Valentinian," "On the Body of Christ," "On the Resurrection of the Body," "Against Praxeas," and an address "To the Gentiles." Of these, the two first are the best known. All of these longer works, save the "Apology," "Prescription," and address "To the Gentiles" (a shorter form of the "Apology"), were written after the author became a Montanist; but, save in some minor particulars, their value is not thereby greatly lessened. Twenty-three shorter works have come

down to us, of which Neander concludes that eleven, viz., "To the Martyrs," "On the Spectacles," "On the Testimony of the Soul," "On Idolatry," "On Prayer," "On Patience," "On Baptism," "On Repentance," two "To his Wife," and two "On the Dress of Females," are pre-Montanistic; while the address "To Scapula," "On the Soldier's Chapel," "On Flight in Persecution," "On the Scorpion's Bite," "Exhortation to Chastity," "On Monogamy," "On Modesty," "On Fasting," "On the Veiling of Virgins," "On the Ascetic's Mantle," and the "Answer to the Jews," are Montanistic works. Written in the Punic Latin, not calculated, like the Greek, to convey spiritual ideas, these works are often obscure in their phraseology, but often, too, strikingly original. The first writer of the Western Church, Tertullian displays at once that practical spirit which has led the West to forego pure theology in the discussion of anthropology and the doctrines of salvation. His testimony as to the faith and practices of the early church is especially prized, for the reason that he wrote at a period when Christianity had become a developed *cultus*, which had freely and spontaneously adapted apostolic methods to the wants of large and varied congregations of worshipers, and before these apostolic ways had been seriously infringed by the hierarchical movement of the third century. For example, the work upon baptism, while showing a liturgical advance from apostolic days, and not wholly free from the later idea of a magical efficacy in the water, yet gives valuable evidence as to early forms, as to the candidates for the rite, and as to

the primitive subordination of the outward observance to the faith of the believer.

Attention is called to the work "On the Prescription of Heretics," as perhaps the most characteristic writing of our author. Also to the closing passage of "On the Spectacles," as showing the passionate intensity and the not wholly sanctified fierceness of his nature. The work "Against Marcion" is important both on account of the prominent position held by that heretic (see "Apostolic Fathers," p. 127), and from the close connection which it traces between the Old and New Testaments.

The translations are made from Oehler's text.

## WORKS OF TERTULLIAN.

### ON THE SOUL.

Truth is to be learned, not from Socrates, but from God. The endless round of inquiries by the philosophers have been the sources of heresy. Contrary to Plato, the soul, which was formed by the breathing of God, has its creation at birth. As Zeno claimed, it is corporeal, as is proved by the gospels; for only as it is corporeal can it suffer, as it is said to suffer [Luke xvi], in hell. Such corporeity involves form and limitation — length, breadth, and height. A prophetic sister among us "who holds converse with angels, sometimes even with the Lord," testifies that "a soul has been shown to me in bodily shape, and a spirit has been wont to appear to me; not, however, a property void and empty, but such as would engage itself to be grasped by the hand, soft and transparent and of an ethereal color, and in every respect

human in form." The soul is simple in its nature [as opposed to the Greek dichotomy]. Spirit is one with it, not as its nature, but as an operation, just as the light is one with the day. Mind also coalesces with the soul, as being its natural function or agent whereby it acts, acquires knowledge, and is capable of spontaneous motion. The soul has no organic divisions, but simply faculties. It has a supreme directive faculty, which is enshrined in the heart. There are also to the soul two elements: the rational, originally implanted by God, and the irrational, coming by the suggestion of the devil, and which has since grown in and with the soul as something natural. The indignant and the appetitive faculties are not confined to the irrational soul; for they were exercised by Christ. The senses are not untrue, they as well as the intellect being functions of the soul. The intellect is coeval with the soul which "has been drawn out from Adam as its root into his posterity and propagated, . . . has sprouted into life with all its natural apparatus, both of intellect and of sense. The nature of the soul is not immutable; we have free wills, and God's grace exercised upon them may lead us to repentance." Heretical ideas of the soul are derived (Tertullian is sorry to say) from Plato. To him learning is but remembering things known in another state of existence—the *ideas* once shared by the soul with God—and now forgotten. Both physiology and Scripture oppose the doctrine that the body inhales the soul at birth. Instead, both soul and body are conceived and formed simultaneously—the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls is absurd, and profane heresies have sprung from it—and thus the sex of both is at once determined, neither body nor soul deriving its sex from the other. The forming process "is regulated by some power which ministers herein to

the divine will." "From birth onward also the soul and body are conjoined, and their growth to maturity coincides. An evil spirit cleaves to every individual from his very birth, ready to entrap his soul ; and, besides, since he has his nature in Adam until he is born again in Christ, there arises beforehand, from its corrupt origin, an evil of the soul which is in a certain sense natural."

Still there is good in the soul, that original, that divine and genuine good, which is its proper nature. For what is derived from God is not so much extinguished as obscured. It can, indeed, be obscured, because it is not God ; extinguished, however, it can not be, because it comes from God. Therefore, when the soul "embraces the faith, being removed through its second birth by water and the power from above, then, the veil of its former corruption being taken away, it beholds the light in all its brightness. It is even taken up by the Holy Spirit, just as in its first birth it is caught up by an unholy spirit. The flesh follows the soul wedded to the Spirit, as a part of the bridal portion, now no longer the servant of the soul, but of the Spirit." The soul separates from the body only at death. Whether easy or violent, death is unnatural, and is owing to sin, without which it would not have been. The entire soul remains with the body to the last vital act. Released by death, it passes to Hades, a vast space in the interior of the earth ; here, in the region of the good or of the bad, all souls abide until the resurrection. Only the souls of martyrs dwell in Paradise. Souls do not reappear on the earth, save by the power of God, sorcerers having no power to recall them. In Hades all souls are punished or consoled in anticipation of the gloom or glory to be awarded at the resurrection and the judgment, when the body is resumed and shares the recompense.

## TERTULLIAN AGAINST MARCION.

*Book One. Marcion's God.*—Marcion, a “monster” from the Euxine, deduced his doctrine from Christ’s words about good and evil fruit from good and evil trees, coupled with the Creator’s words, “I create evil” (Isa. xlv, 7). Reasoning from these, he made the Creator the God of Evil, and as a counterpart he assumed the existence of another God, the Father of Christ, and the Author of all good. But God is not if he is not one. He is the great Supreme, and the Supreme must be unique. Marcion, indeed, does not make his gods equal: one is harsh and judicial, one good and mild. Still, by calling the Creator God, he makes him supreme, and so can not subject him to another. The novelty of this new God is fatal to him, since to be God he must be from and to everlasting. This we predicate from our knowledge of the Creator, and we can only judge of the unknown by the known. No one, moreover, can exist to whom nothing belongs; but all things are full of the Creator, and no place is left for Marcion’s God. He can not be shown to have made even a vegetable. The creation is not to be despised, as witness the wonderful work of God in a single feather or the cell of a bee. Even Marcion’s Lord makes use of the Creator’s works, bread, water, etc., in his sacraments. The antithesis assumed by Marcion to exist between two makers, of the visible and of the invisible, holds rather of the different works of the one Creator. Jesus Christ was the revealer of the Creator, and of none other. He appeared in the reign of Tiberius, but Marcion’s God was only revealed one hundred and fifteen years afterward.

The great work of the Marcionites is the separation of the law from the gospel; and since the

existence of their God was only shown at such separation, he could not have been known until these late days. Marcion holds to a difference of understanding between Peter and Paul; but he misunderstands the latter. Paul identifies the Creator and the Father of Christ, as do all the Apostolic churches. The goodness of God is eternal; hence God should have been active in goodness from the beginning, and not simply from the days of Tiberius. Besides, the goodness of Marcion's God is imperfect, in that he saves but a few, and only the souls of those. How contemptible, too, the character of a God who prohibits evil, but does not punish it! And yet Marcion's God does really become a judge, since he rejects sinners from salvation; thus his position has no consistency. Were God not a judge, what end could baptism serve? If no sins are retained to any one, none can be remitted. And one can not regenerate a soul unless [as Creator] he has generated it.

Marcion proscribes marriage, but we hold that God bestowed his blessing upon matrimony, which is simply to be moderated by the spiritual rule.

*Book Two. The Creator the True God.*—The goodness of the known God, being eternal, puts the benevolence of Marcion's God to shame. That man fell showed no failure in the Creator, since the perfection of man was only to be found in that liberty by which he sinned; only as he was free could he be rewarded or punished. God foreknew the result, but knew that in sinning man would see himself answerable to God's law. Man was made stronger than any angel, and now, in his liberty, he is stronger than the devil. God did not sin in man; for in breathing into him the breath of life, he did not make man God. Nor did God cause sin by making the devil; he rather made an angel of light who himself sinned. The divine justice is

an eternal attribute; by it alone could God discriminate in his creation. The expression, "I create evil," is understood by noting two kinds of evil—evils of sin and penal evils—only the latter of which God causes. When God is spoken of as jealous, angry, etc., we must not liken these emotions to the same emotions in men; e. g., God in anger is "moved, but not subverted." God's government as shown in history is full of goodness. He did not curse Adam and Eve, who confessed their sin, but only Cain, who would not confess. To Marcion's objection to the condescension of the Creator, we reply that all the appearances of God in the Old Testament were appearances of Christ, whom he himself allows to have become incarnate. There is preserved the majesty of the invisible God. But this very condescension is "the sacrament of man's salvation. God held [such] converse that man might learn to act divinely; God acted upon equal terms with man, that man might act upon equal terms with God; God was found little, that man might become great."

*Book Three. Christ the Son of God who created the World.*—"Nothing, I suppose, comes suddenly from God, because there is nothing which is not ordered by God." It was fitting that he who sent the Son should be known first, to give authority to the mission of him who was sent. Prophecy was thus employed, and was needed to testify of the Creator's Christ. But Marcion's Christ is not the subject of prophecy. Marcionites agree with the Jews in many of their arguments against Christ's being the subject of prophecy. Two advents were predicted of him, one lowly and one in glory. If, as Marcion holds, Christ's body was unreal, all that he did in connection with the flesh may have been a lie. We claim that both the angels and the Lord himself when they appeared to Abraham had



actual human flesh, though not born. Christ was truly born.

The rest of this book is devoted to the prophecies fulfilled in Christ, in connection with which Tertullian treats of the reign of the saints upon the earth for a thousand years, after which they shall be changed into the substance of angels.

*Book Four.*—This book gives proofs from Marcion's own gospel—substantially Luke's—that Jesus is the Christ of the Creator.

*Book Five.*—Similar proof is here given from the Pauline epistles. Marcion mutilates all of the ten epistles which he receives, except Philemon. He rejects Titus, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Hebrews.

#### AGAINST HERMOGENES.

Hermogenes held that the world, containing evil, was made out of eternally existing matter, the source of evil. Against him Tertullian argues that he thus makes matter equal with God, though the heretic so shrinks as to call it inferior to God. He even makes matter superior to God, since God was in need of it to form the world. He further makes God the author of evil, in that he tolerated matter. But matter could not have been eternally evil, else evil could never end. Again, matter, in admitting change—for good things have certainly been made out of matter—is not eternal. God is in no other way the sole God, but by nothing else being co-existent with him. The very Wisdom of God, who was “in the beginning,” was begotten. Again, although the source of all the rest of God's creation is given—grass out of the earth, whales out of the waters, etc.—we are simply told that “God created the heavens and the earth”; from which we reason that he made them out of nothing. The “earth,”

declared to be without form and void, was not "matter." Matter could not have been void—i. e., imperfect—if eternal. That all things are to return to nothing leads to the presumption that they came from nothing. Thus, shapeless matter were an incongruous source of this beautiful world. In conclusion, the author shows that "matter" is not even mentioned in Scripture; and that in as far as it is shown that matter had no prior existence, in so far is it proved that God made all things out of nothing.

#### AGAINST THE VALENTINIANS.

This work gives an account of the tenets of the Valentinian sect, which revelation, says the author, is of itself enough to destroy the system. Tertullian draws largely from Irenæus, whom he calls "a most assiduous inquirer into all doctrines." The account does not differ sufficiently from the latter author's (for which see the "Five Books against Heresies") to call for its repetition.

#### AGAINST PRAXEAS.

Praxeas claimed that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were the same; that the Father descended into the Virgin, was born, and suffered. Adherents to this belief were called Patripassians, and also Monarchians. Against them, Tertullian claims that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are "three, not in condition, but in degree; not in substance, but in form; not in power, but in aspect." The principle of monarchy is not violated when, as we hold, power is shared by God with one of like will, not with a rival. That the Son does nothing without the Father's will—which is true also of the Spirit

—is shown in that all things will ultimately be restored to the Father. By this last fact two persons are shown. The attitude of these two is illustrated by the relations of the soul to its own reason, which, uttering itself by a word, may become an interlocutor with the soul, and so a second person. The “Word,” who is also the “Wisdom” of God, the “Creator,” is not a mere attribute of God, but a distinct and substantial person, second to the Father. The Trinity does not disturb the Monarchy. “Keep ever in mind that this is the rule of faith which I profess; by which I testify that the Father, and the Son, and the Spirit are inseparable from each other, and so you will know in what sense this is said. For, observe, I assert that the Father is one, and the Son another, and the Spirit another.” We do not, however, make a plurality of Gods. “If the Father and Son are alike to be invoked, I shall call the Father ‘God,’ and invoke Jesus Christ as ‘Lord.’ Christ alone, however, I shall be able to call God.” We recognize in the Father the invisible God, in the Son God made visible; yet the titles “God Almighty,” the “Most High,” are applicable alike to both. It is not unity, but identification, which is opposed by Scripture. Praxeas would have the entire revelation yield to his interpretation of three passages, viz. : Isa. xlv, 5; John x, 30, xiv, 9, 10. The Paraclete also is distinct from the Father and the Son. “These three are *unum*, not *unus*, . . . in respect of unity of substance, not singularity of number.” We are immersed, not once only, but three times, into these three persons. The nature of Christ was twofold, “Jesus, God and Man”—not a *tertium quid*. Christ, “in the sense in which he was flesh and man,” not the Father, died. Nor did, nor can, the Father suffer. It was the Son who, on the cross, was forsaken of the Father. This belief in Three, as making One

only God, is the great distinction between the Gospel faith and Judaism.

#### ON THE BODY OF CHRIST.

This tractate is directed against those who deny the identity of our Lord's flesh with human flesh. In it occur these remarkable passages, which only a Tertullian could have written: "O most infamous of men, who dost absolve the murderers of God! . . . The Son of God died; it is absolutely to be believed, because it is absurd. And being buried, he rose again; the fact is certain, because it is impossible."

#### ON THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

Heretics who rejected the Creator, the "Demi-urge," as they called him, regarded the flesh as his work, and as unworthy and corrupt, not capable of immortality.

Tertullian claims that the Creator is shown to be God when Christ is shown to be such as the Creator had predicted. Christians are not to be content with what even the heathens know, viz., that the soul is immortal. The flesh, too, has dignity, in that it is the workmanship of God and was assumed by Christ. So intimate is the union of the two that it is a question "whether the flesh bears about the soul, or the soul the flesh." No soul can procure salvation save as it believes while in the flesh. "The flesh is washed, that the soul may be cleansed from spots; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is marked with the sign [of the cross], that the soul may be protected; the flesh is shaded by the laying on of

hands, that the soul may be enlightened by the Spirit; the flesh feeds of the body and blood of God, that the soul may be fattened by God." [Beside this passage, however, should be placed another in this treatise, in which Tertullian says, that the soul is sanctified not by the "washing" but by the "answer."] God, who could create out of nothing, is certainly able to raise the flesh. Analogies to this power are seen in God's works in nature. "Nothing [in nature] perishes but with a view to salvation. Therefore, this whole revoluble order of things is an attestation of the resurrection of the dead. God wrote it in his works before he wrote it in the Scriptures." The final cause of the resurrection of the flesh is the judgment. The flesh, having been a companion in the conduct of this life, must share its rewards and punishments. Turning now from reason to the Scriptures, they clearly teach the resurrection of the dead; and that that only is raised up which falls by death, that is, the flesh. The interpretation of the resurrection as a passing from the worldly life to life with the Lord at baptism is precluded by the limitation to the figurative use of Scripture language. If the resurrection of the dead were a metaphor, there would be no force in the doctrine of rewards, and no motive to win men to this despised faith. Paul indeed speaks of a spiritual resurrection; but it is in terms compatible with a resurrection of the flesh. Further, he expressly foretells the resurrection at the coming of the Lord, as do also John and the Old Testament prophecies. The Lord himself spoke plainly of the kingdom of God, the judgment, and the resurrection. He came to save the entire man, soul and body, the whole being lost. He also spoke of "destroying both soul and body in hell." This can not mean annihilation, since the fire of hell is eternal. How, in such punish-

ment, shall there be weeping and gnashing of teeth, if there are no teeth and eyes? The men raised up by Christ are also proofs of the bodily resurrection. Certain passages of Paul, wrested by the heretics, are yet consistent with the resurrection of our bodies. For example, when he contrasts the "flesh" with the "spirit," he does not condemn the substance of the flesh, but the works of the flesh. Let the heretics explain that passage to the Thessalonians [1 Thes. v, 23] "which I should think to have been written with a sunbeam, it is so clear." The flesh and blood [of 1 Cor. xv, 50] excluded from the kingdom of God means the carnal disposition. Yet, not pressing this interpretation, the meaning of the passage is that the body *in its present corruptible form* is not to enter the kingdom, but only as it rises in incorruption. Christ in the flesh sits in heaven. "Dwell secure, O flesh and blood; in Christ you have acquired both heaven and the kingdom of God." The very seed that is sown will spring up, having a body given to it of God. There will be a need of these bodies in order to our identity. If I do not recall that it is I who have been deserving, how shall I ascribe glory to God? Our bodies shall also rise entire, though their functions may be unlike those performed by the members here, we being like the angels in heaven. This whole mystery is now made open and plain through the teaching of the Paraclete.

#### "THE APOLOGY."

Addressing the rulers of the Roman Empire, Tertullian charges upon them the injustice of condemning Christians unheard. Multitudes of every class who once opposed the faith through ignorance, now receive it. Though charged with crimes,

Christians do not receive a trial. The mere name of Christian is hated, though Christianity makes the bad good. Ancient laws, if they are against us, might be repealed; if the laws are good, then we should be tried under them. Good emperors have not enforced these laws, Nero having been the first to oppose Christians, and he opposed everything good. Those who most earnestly enforce the laws against us are those who most despise the ancient laws promoting integrity of life. No one ever gave information as to the crimes charged against us; only uncertain rumor suggests them. It would be impossible for you to commit such awful crimes; then how can Christians? for they, too, are men. You credit the charges, perhaps, because of practices which in Africa and elsewhere prevail among yourselves [the heathen]. We are accused simply because we worship not the gods, who, if gods, must have been made by God; and he would not have deified the vile and incestuous, such as they are, but the good, like Socrates. Even you vilify these gods by impious sacrifices, by casting the image of a Saturn into a cooking-pot, by sacrilegious plays, etc. We worship not, as accused, the head of an ass nor a cross. The object of our worship is the One God, who made all things. He has made a written revelation of himself through the prophets who spoke to the Hebrews. Moses, whose works are the thesaurus of the Jewish religion, was more ancient than all your writers or even your gods, antedating Priam by a thousand years. The most recent prophets were coeval with the earlier philosophers and legislators. The divineness of these writings is proved by their having foretold things which are now transpiring. The Jews, according to prophecy, have by reason of wickedness been rejected of God, who appeared in the person of Christ and chose this Christian people. This ray

of God, one in substance with God, descended into a virgin and was made flesh. Rejecting Christ, the Jews delivered him to Pontius Pilate to be crucified, his death having been predicted by the prophets and by himself. On the third day he arose from the dead, commissioned his disciples to preach his gospel, and ascended to heaven. "We worship God through Christ." We believe that demons exist, and know that they claim to be gods; but demons, at the command of Christians, are powerless, and confess themselves not gods. This confession of the one God whom we adore should free us from the charge of treason against the Roman religion. See to it that it does not amount to a charge of irreligion for you to take away religious liberty and forbid the choice of a deity. It is claimed that Rome is great because of her devotion to religion; but, on the contrary, she gained her power while her religion was very simple. The charge against us of treason to Cæsar is untrue. We desire the preservation of the state, and pray for the empire and for Cæsar, as our religion enjoins; but to call Cæsar god would be to invoke upon him a curse. Should Christians who fill the empire leave it, you would have left fewer citizens than enemies.

Christians are knit together by a common faith and discipline. We meet to pray for the welfare of the world; we read our Scriptures and exhort to good conduct. We exercise judgment with gravity, our rulers obtaining their places from good character. Our moneys we devote to charitable purposes. We have all things in common but our wives. At our feasts we have prayer, are temperate in eating and drinking, and talk as knowing that the Lord is a guest. We are accused of bringing calamities upon the state; we rather, by our prayers, avert evils. Instead of being criminals,



we observe a higher virtue than the laws demand. Christianity is not simply a philosophy, Christians and philosophers being alike neither in their knowledge nor in their ways. The latter give no certain information about God; but there is not a Christian workman but finds out God and manifests him. The truth which we hold upon the authority of Scripture has been borrowed and perverted by philosophers; but we are called silly for speaking of things, for speculating upon which they are called great. Then, what these philosophers praise, we practice. Your cruelty does not avail against us; for, after we are mown down by you, the more in number do we grow: the blood of Christians is as seed. "Who, after inquiry, does not yield? when he has yielded, does not desire to suffer, that he may share in the fullness of God's grace, that he may obtain from him full forgiveness by making compensation in his blood?"

#### THE "PRESCRIPTION AGAINST HERETICS."

There is no ground for scandal in the existence of heresies. On the contrary, heresies were foretold by the apostles. They have no power against such as are strong in the faith. Being self-willed, Paul calls the heretic self-condemned. "We, however [of the true faith], are not permitted to cherish anything after our own will, nor yet to choose what another has introduced of his individual fancy. In the Lord's apostles we possess our authority." The parent of heresies is pagan philosophy—the Valentinian doctrines, for example, coming from Plato, and Marcion drawing from the Stoics. Against such philosophy Paul would put us on our guard. "What, indeed, has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What concord is there between the academy and

the church? what between heretics and Christians?" As to the Lord's words, "Seek and ye shall find," they were spoken primarily to Jews and to the apostles before they received the Holy Ghost. But, allowing them to be spoken to all men, such seeking must have a limit. Christianity is a definite thing, and, having believed, one has found, and must cease his search, save within the bounds of the rule of faith. "To know nothing opposed to the rule [of faith] is to know everything." Heretics should not be allowed the use of the Scriptures in argument, since they do not belong to them. They are rather to be admonished by us, for they mutilate and distort the Scriptures. Nor are we to appeal to Scripture in discussing with them, but to our possession of the rule of faith.<sup>1</sup> The faith was delivered by Christ to the apostles; by them to the churches which they founded, from which churches all other churches derive the tradition of the faith. Only that teaching which is so derived is true. Nothing was withheld from the apostles, from Peter, who was "called the 'rock on which the church should be built,' who also obtained 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven'"; nor did the apostles withhold a part of the truth committed to them. The whole truth was in all cases delivered to the whole church. The churches, again, did not lose the faith so intrusted, but they still hold it, and everywhere it is the same. The priority of this doctrine of the church over heresies like those of Marcion, Valentinus, etc., is a proof of its truth. The good seed of truth is sown first; tares come later. The heretics can not claim apostolic descent, but our churches can give proof of theirs.<sup>2</sup> The heretics have an art, exercised also by profane writers, of fabricating errors by collecting passages, "patchwork fashion," from all parts of the Scriptures. There is no real difference between heresy

and idolatry, both being of the same author, the devil. The conduct of the heretics, too, is chargeable with worldliness and frivolity.<sup>3</sup> Their only work is to subvert the people, not to convert the heathen. "Deprive them of the law of Moses and the prophets, and the divinity of the Creator, and they have no objection to talk about." "The majority of them have not even churches. Motherless, houseless, creedless outcasts, they wander about in their own essential worthlessness." They seek the company of magicians and mountebanks, and declare that God is not to be feared. Our stricter discipline is a proof of the truth from which none may safely turn aside who remember that "we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ." The work closes with a boldly ironical picture of the heretics in controversy with Christ at the judgment.

EXTRACTS FROM THE "PRESCRIPTION."

1. "Now the Rule of Faith—that we may just here confess what we defend—is in truth that by which it is believed [that] there is one only God, none other than the Creator of the world, who made everything out of nothing by his own Word, sent forth first of all; [that] this Word, called his Son, seen by the patriarchs in various forms under the name of God, heard always in the prophets, at last brought down by the Spirit and power of God the Father into the Virgin Mary, made flesh in her womb and of her born, went forth as Jesus Christ; [that he] thenceforth preached the new law and new promise of the kingdom of heaven; wrought miracles; having been fixed to the cross, rose on the third day; having been taken into heaven, sat down at the right hand of the Father; sent forth in his stead the power of the Holy Ghost, which leads

believers; [that he] will come with glory to receive the saints into the fruition of life eternal and of the heavenly promises, and to condemn the wicked to eternal fire, the resurrection of both [just and unjust] having occurred together with the restitution of their flesh." (Chap. 13.)

2. "Run over the apostolic churches, among which the very chairs of the apostles defend their places; among which their own authentic epistles are read, echoing the voice and representing the face of each one of them. Very near to you is Achaia [where] you have Corinth. Since you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have the Thessalonians. As you are able to reach into Asia, you have Ephesus. Since, however, you approach Italy, you have Rome, whence authority comes to us. How blessed is this church upon which apostles bestowed the whole doctrine with their blood! where Peter suffers a like passion with the Lord's; where Paul is crowned with the death of John [the Baptist]; whence the Apostle John, after being immersed in boiling oil, is banished to an island. See what she has learned, what taught, what fellowship she has had with the African churches. One Lord God she confesses," etc. (Chap. 36.)

3. "In the first place, it is doubtful who is a catechumen, who a believer; all approach alike, hear alike, pray alike, even the heathen, if they chance along. . . . They will have simplicity to be a subversion of discipline, care for which among us they call *finery*. Peace also they jumble together indiscriminately with every one. For nothing is of concern to them; they are permitted to conduct themselves differently so as they conspire to oppose the one truth. All swell with pride; all promise knowledge. Their catechumens are perfect before they are taught. The very women of the heretics, how bold! who venture to teach, to dispute, to per-

form exorcisms, to promise cures, perhaps also to baptize. Their ordinations are inconsiderate, trivial, changeable. . . . Thus to-day one man is bishop, to-morrow another; to-day he is a deacon who to-morrow is a reader, to-day a presbyter who to-morrow is a layman. For even on laymen do they impose priestly functions." (Chap. 41.)

## EXTRACTS FROM SHORTER WORKS.

*From "On the Spectacles."*

"But what a spectacle is the impending advent of our Lord, now owned by all, now exalted, now triumphant! What will be that exultation of angels! what the glory of the rising saints! what thereafter the kingdom of the just! what the city New Jerusalem! But there will remain other spectacles; that day of judgment last and unending, that day unlooked for by the nations, that day derided, when the so great age of the world and all its productions will be consumed in one fire. What then the vastness of the spectacle! What do I admire? what deride? At which sight do I rejoice? at which exult? Seeing so many and so great monarchs, who were proclaimed to have been received into heaven, now, with Jove himself and with those who testified to them, groaning in the lowest darkness! seeing also governors, who persecuted the Lord's name, melting in flames more fierce than those with which in their insolent days they raged against Christians! . . . That you may see, that you may exult in such things, what prætor, or consul, or quæstor, or priest, will of his liberality bestow upon you?" (Chap. 30.)

*From "On the Testimony of the Soul."*

"Stand forth, O soul, . . . I demand of thee what things thou bringest with thee into man. . . .

Thou art not, as I know, a Christian ; for a Christian is wont to be made, not born." (Chap. 1.)  
" Every soul proclaims, in its own right, what it is not allowed to us to breathe. Every soul therefore is justly both culprit and witness ; being so far convicted of error as it has testified of the truth ; and will stand before the courts of God in the day of judgment, having nothing to say. Thou claimedst God [O soul], but didst not seek after him ; thou didst detest evil spirits, but yet adoredst them ; thou calledst God to witness, but didst not believe him to exist ; thou didst foresee the punishments of hell, but avertedst them not ; thou hadst a savor of the Christian name, and didst persecute the Christian." (Chap. 6.)

*From the Address "To Scapula."*

" However, it is a right of man, a natural privilege for every one, to worship according to his own convictions." (Chap. 2.)

*From Treatise "On Prayer."*

" For it [the Lord's Prayer] has embraced not only the special offices of prayer, whether veneration of God, or petition for man, but almost every discourse of the Lord, every record of [his] discipline ; so that, in fact, an epitome of the whole Gospel is comprehended in the prayer." (Chap. 1.)  
" It is prayer alone that vanquishes God ; but Christ has willed it to accomplish nothing evil. He has conferred all virtue upon it for good. Therefore it has known nothing save how to recall the souls of the departed from the very path of death, to renew the weak, to heal the sick, to purify the possessed, to open prison-bars, to loose the bonds of the innocent. It likewise washes away crimes, repels temptations, extinguishes persecutions, con-

soles the timid, cheers the brave, escorts travelers, calms waves, astounds robbers, feeds the poor, governs the rich, recovers the lapsed, sustains the falling, maintains those who stand. Prayer is the wall of faith, our arms and weapons against the enemy who is everywhere watching us. Let us never, therefore, go unarmed. Of station by day, of vigil by night, let us be mindful. Under the armor of prayer, let us guard the standard of our Emperor; praying, let us await the trumpet of the angel. All angels, indeed, pray; every creature prays; cattle and wild beasts pray and incline their knees, and going forth from their stalls and caves, they look up to heaven with mouth not idle, causing their breath to vibrate in their own manner. Nay, birds also rising from the nest mount toward heaven, and, instead of hands, spread out into the cross of wings, and say what seems to be prayer. What more, then, of the office of prayer? Even the Lord himself prayed; to whom be honor and power unto the ages of the ages." (Chap. 29.)

*From Treatise "On Idolatry."*

"No man can be esteemed clean in unclean things." (Chap. 18.)

*From Treatise "On Baptism."*

"But we little fishes, after the example of our ΙΧΘΥΣ,\* Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor are we saved otherwise than by abiding in [that] water." (Chap. 1.) "Therefore all waters, from the pristine prerogative of their origin, upon God being invoked, do attain unto the mystery of sanctification. For immediately the Spirit supervenes from heaven, and rests over the waters, sanctifying them from himself; and being so sanctified, they imbibe

\* Fish. From the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Ἰῆδς Σωτήρ.

the power of sanctifying." (Chap. 4.) "Not that we obtain the Holy Spirit in the water; but being cleansed in the water, under the angel, we are prepared for the Holy Spirit." (Chap. 6.) "Afterward, come forth from the laver, we are anointed with the blessed unction derived from the former [Jewish] discipline." (Chap. 7.) "Next the hand is imposed, through the benediction invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit." . . . "Thus the Most Holy Spirit descends willingly from the Father over our cleansed and blessed bodies, rests over the waters of baptism as if recognizing its pristine seat." (Chap. 8.)

"But when it is prescribed that no one without baptism shall attain to salvation—chiefly because of that declaration of the Lord, 'Except a man be born of water he shall not have life'—scrupulous, rather indiscreet, doubts arise on the part of some as to how, in accordance with such a prescription, salvation could accrue to the apostles, whom, Paul excepted, we do not find to have been baptized in the Lord." (Chap. 12.) "Here, then, those villains raise questions. So they say, 'Baptism is not necessary to those for whom faith suffices; for Abraham was pleasing to God by a sacrament of no water, but of faith.' But in all cases the later [customs] are conclusive, and things following prevail over things preceding. Salvation may formerly, before the passion and resurrection of the Lord, have been through a bare faith. But when the enlarged faith is one which believes in his nativity, passion, and resurrection, an amplification is added to the sacrament, the seal of baptism, a vestment, in some sense, of the faith which was formerly bare, but now is unable to be without its own law. For the law of baptizing has been imposed, and the form prescribed. 'Go,' he said, 'teach the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son



and of 'the Holy Ghost.'" (Chap. 13.) "Of giving it [baptism], the chief priest, who is the bishop, has the right; then presbyters and deacons, not, however, without the authority of the bishop, on account of the honor of the church, which being preserved, peace is preserved. Besides, even the laity possess the right. . . . But how much more is the discipline of reverence and modesty incumbent upon laymen—since these things pertain to their superiors—forbidding them to assume to themselves the function assigned to the bishop! Emulation of the episcopal office is the mother of schism. 'All things,' said the most holy apostle, 'are lawful, but all are not expedient.'" (Chap. 17.) "But they to whom the office pertains know that baptism should not be administered rashly. . . . Therefore, according to the condition and disposition, even the age of each person, the delay of baptism is preferable, principally, however, as applying to the very young. For why is it necessary, if [baptism] is not essential, to put in peril even the sponsors, who may themselves through mortality fail to fulfill their promises, and may be deceived by the growth of an evil disposition [in the baptized]? The Lord does, indeed, say, 'Forbid them not to come unto me.' Let them come while they are growing up, let them come while they are learning, while they are taught whither they should come; let them become Christians when they are able to know Christ. Why should an innocent age hasten to the remission of sins? . . . If any appreciate the importance of baptism they will rather fear its reception than its delay; sound faith is secure of salvation." (Chap. 18.)

*From Tract "On Repentance."*

"This [man's salvation] is the motive of repentance, this her work in undertaking the business of

the divine mercy. What is profitable to man does service to God. But the rule thereof, which we learn when the Lord is known, holds a definite form—no violent hand, so to speak, shall ever be laid upon good deeds or thoughts.” (Chap. 2.)

“I esteem it audacity to dispute concerning the ‘good’ of a divine precept. For it is not because it is good that we are therefore bound to obey, but because God has commanded.” (Chap. 4.)

“We are not washed in order that we may cease to sin, but because we have ceased to sin, since already in heart we have been bathed.” (Chap. 6.)

*From Tract “On Patience.”*

“So is patience set over the things of God that, estranged from it, one is able to obey no precept, to perform no work well-pleasing to the Lord.” (Chap. 1.) “Perish the whole world so that I attain unto patience!” (Chap. 7.) [Speaking of Job] “What a bier for the devil did God erect in that hero!” (Chap. 14.)

*From Tract “On Modesty.”*

“The occasions of penitence we declare to be sins. These we classify according to two issues. Some will be remissible, some irremissible. Wherefore it is doubtful to no one that some must merit castigation, some damnation. Either grace or punishment marks each crime: grace for castigation; punishment for damnation. Concerning this difference we put forth certain antithetical passages of Scripture, here retaining, here remitting sins.” (Chap. 2.) [Addressing either Victor or Zephyrinus, who has put forth an edict remitting gross sins, and whom he has ironically styled “Pontifex Maximus, forsooth! which is the bishop of bishops,” Tertullian says:] “Exhibit, therefore, to me as an apostle, prophetic examples, that I may recognize

the divinity [which is your sanction]; and vindicate to thyself the power to forgive sins in a like manner [with Peter]. Because, if thou hast shared a purely disciplinary office, not to preside with power but as a minister, who or what art thou to give indulgence, who, showing thyself neither prophet nor apostle, dost lack that by virtue of which it is given to grant indulgence? . . . Because the Lord said to Peter, 'Upon this rock,' etc. [Matt. xvi, 18, 19], dost thou, therefore, presume that the power of loosing and binding has devolved upon thee, that is upon the whole church related to Peter? Who art thou, overturning and changing the plain intention of the Lord to confer this upon Peter personally?" (Chap. 21.)

*From Tract "On the Soldier's Chaplet."*

[To the plea that the Scriptures nowhere forbid the wearing of a crown, and that what is not forbidden is permitted, Tertullian says:] "On the contrary, that is prohibited which has not been expressly permitted." (Chap. 2.) [Arguing again that tradition may prescribe a custom, which should be binding, he speaks of the practice in baptism:] "Hereupon we are thrice immersed. (*ter mergitamur*), giving a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord appointed in the gospel," etc. . . . "We also receive the sacrament of the eucharist, which the Lord commanded to be received at meal-time, and by all [alike], at our meetings before daybreak and from the hands of the presidents alone. We make offerings for the dead, as birthday honors, on the anniversary day. On the Lord's day, we account fasting and kneeling in worship to be unlawful. We rejoice in the same immunity from Easter until Pentecost. If any of the bread or wine, though it be our own, be cast on the ground, we suffer solici-

tude. At every step and motion forward, at every going in and out, upon dressing and putting on our shoes, upon bathing, at our tables, upon lighting the lamps, upon reclining, upon sitting down, whatever action engages us, we trace the forehead with the sign [of the cross]. If you demand a law of the Scriptures for these and other similar rules, you will find none. Tradition will be offered you as their author, custom as their confirmer, and faith as their observer." (Chaps. 3 and 4.)

*From Tract "On the Veiling of Virgins."*

"The rule of faith is one and universal, sole, immovable, and unalterable, viz.: Belief in one God Almighty, Creator of the world, and in his Son, Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised from the dead on the third day, received into heaven, now sitting at the right hand of the Father, about to come to judge the living and the dead, through the resurrection even of the body. This law of faith remaining, other matters of discipline and action admit the novelty of correction, the grace of God indeed continuing to operate even to the end. . . . On this account the Lord has sent the Paraclete, that, since human mediocrity can not grasp all things at once, discipline may be directed and ordered and led, little by little, to perfection by that substitute of the Lord, the Holy Spirit." (Chap. 1.)

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### CYPRIAN.

CYPRIAN, the Bishop. There were bishops before him, there were bishops after him; but never has one so magnified the office as this Bishop of

Carthage. He was born about 200 A. D., and was highly educated for the profession of a rhetorician. We know little of his earlier career, Pontius the Deacon, who wrote of his life and passion, remarking that "the doings of a man should not be reckoned from any other point, except from the time that he was born of God." He appears to us in middle life, a man of wealth and position, who, through the influence of his friend Cæcilius, becomes a Christian, and at once devotes his wealth to the relief of the poor and to other charitable works. This conversion occurred 246 A. D., and so rapidly did he advance in the esteem of his fellow-Christians that, having been ordained to the priesthood, he was, 248 A. D., chosen Bishop of Carthage; and, notwithstanding that it was a promotion over those who had been long in the priesthood, he was constrained by the unanimous voice of the people to accept the office. The position was not solely one to be coveted; for, as head of the leading church in Africa, the Bishop of Carthage was the most conspicuous object of the persecutions which raged against Christians. In 250 A. D., at the outbreak of the Decian persecution, Cyprian was induced to go for a time into retirement. In his seclusion, however, he did not cease to direct the affairs of the church; but by means of letters, many of which have come down to us, his influence was constantly felt throughout his diocese. An important subject of this correspondence was the matter of the discipline of those who in the persecutions had fallen away. So long as the oppression lasted, Cyprian was inclined to a rigid treatment of these

lapsed Christians; but having, with the return of peace, gone back to Carthage, he became more lenient; indeed, with the concurrence of councils of his clergy, he was so tolerant as to be charged by the Novatians with laxity of discipline. Another correspondence of Cyprian was with the Bishop of Rome and others in regard to rebaptizing heretics when they came into the Catholic Church. The Carthaginian bishop and clergy, as was declared in the Seventh Council of Carthage, were in favor of such rebaptism; while the bishops and clergy at Rome as earnestly opposed it. In the discussion of this subject, Cyprian, while writing courteously to his "colleague," the Bishop of Rome, asserts his own equal right, as a bishop, with his clergy, to decide upon the proper procedure. Similarly, in a correspondence with reference to certain of the clergy in Spain, the Bishop of Carthage is unwilling to abate anything of his own or of his clergy's dignity in favor of the bishop and clergy at Rome.

An important occurrence of Cyprian's episcopate was a schism under the presbyter Felicissimus; but so vigorously did the bishop assert his claims, as head of the church, that ecclesiastical discipline was rather strengthened than weakened thereby.

Under Valerian, in the year 254, Cyprian was banished to Curubis, but was soon recalled. Subsequently, when the persecution was raging violently, he once more withdrew temporarily; but returning to Carthage 258 A. D., he rejoiced in becoming a martyr to the faith.

The extant works of Cyprian, besides the let-

ters already referred to, were twelve treatises, described hereafter. The Epistles are noted in the order given by Migne, which omits the number twenty-three. Though made from Migne's text, our translations have usually followed the readings of the Oxford edition.

## CYPRIAN'S EPISTLES.

These are a collection of eighty-two epistles, sixty-six of which were written by Cyprian, the remainder either being addressed to him or having regard to persons and events in his church at Carthage.

Epistle 1, to Donatus, was written soon after Cyprian's conversion. "While yet in darkness," he says, "it seemed to me impossible for a man to be born again, and set free from the bondage of his sins; but having been washed, the impossible is known to be possible. Standing now, as on a mountain, above the world, we look down upon all its various forms of wickedness, and reflect that the only escape therefrom is in turning to God. Whom he has made rich none can make poor."

Epistles 2 to 40 were written during the period of Cyprian's retirement under the persecution. Epistle 4,<sup>1</sup> from Cyprian to his clergy, may be read as a specimen of the pastoral letters by which, though absent, the bishop still performed his diocesan labors. Not a few of these letters were written to or about the confessors of Christ, who were at that time suffering at Carthage and

Rome. All of these accord extravagant praise to such confessors; but one of them, Epistle 6, while praising, also rebukes certain confessors most severely for their arrogance and for their outbreaking sins. Epistle 9 refers to certain presbyters who had unduly granted peace to the lapsed, without consulting the bishops, and insists on their guilt. If these continue, they shall give answer before himself and the brethren and confessors, and shall lose their power of offering. A similar letter of reproof, Epistle 10, was directed to certain confessors who, subverting all discipline, were granting to the lapsed certificates reading, "Let such a one be received to communion, along with his friends"! In Epistle 12, Cyprian gives permission to his clergy to grant remission to such of the lapsed, having certificates from the martyrs, as are at the point of death. Epistle 16, from Lucianus and others to "Pope Cyprian," shows that some of the confessors assumed a very arrogant position toward the clergy; while others, as is shown by Epistle 26, from Moses and others to Cyprian, were in full accord with the latter's ideas as to discipline. In Epistle 27, to the lapsed, Cyprian sets forth formally the doctrine that "the church is founded upon the bishops, and every act of the church is controlled by these same rulers." Epistle 37, enjoining upon the clergy to show kindness to the confessors in prison, bids them also to note carefully the days of their death, that their memory may afterward be celebrated. In Epistles 38 and 40, Cyprian refers to the schism of Felicissimus, and directs that the latter, together with five presbyters who had granted peace to the



lapsed, and had stirred up strife against himself, their bishop, be excommunicated.

Epistles 41 to 57 were mostly written to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, and refer chiefly to the schism of Novatian. In Epistles 41 and 42, Cyprian informs Cornelius that the clergy at Carthage had refused to receive, or commune with, the messengers who had come to them from Novatian, since they considered his ordination as bishop to have been unlawful, and in opposition to the Catholic Church; and explains that the Carthaginians had only followed ancient usage in desiring full proof of Cornelius's rightful promotion before recognizing him as bishop. Epistle 44 is addressed to certain confessors at Rome who had followed the party of Novatian and Novatus, and exhorts them to return to the church. Epistle 46, from Cornelius to Cyprian, announces the return of certain schismatics to the church, and gives the form of words in which they declared their allegiance to the Catholic body.<sup>2</sup> In Epistle 52, to Antonianus, Cyprian sets forth the just claims of Cornelius, as opposed to Novatian, showing that he assumed office at a time of danger, and denying the charge of the Novatian party, that he communed everywhere with sacrificers. Both Cornelius and himself [Cyprian], in now communicating with those who had received certificates more freely than seemed wise to them while the persecution continued, were following the decision of many bishops met in council, both in Africa and at Rome. As to Novatian [who would not on any terms commune with the sacrificers], he is not in the church, and yet he arrogates to him-

self a position above the apostles, in that he assumes to judge here between the wheat and the tares. Epistle 55, to Cornelius, has received the appropriate title "Against Heretics." It contains a defense of the dignity of the priesthood. Heresies and schisms all spring from this, "that God's priest is not obeyed, nor is it considered that there is one person for the time priest in the church, and for the time judge instead of Christ." As to the doings of schismatics in his diocese, Cyprian, as becomes the dignity of the Catholic Church, has not heretofore concerned himself about them enough to communicate them to Cornelius. Having now, however, spoken of their proceedings, Cyprian adds that they presume to appeal to Rome, instead of bringing their matters before the bishops of Africa, their proper tribunal.<sup>3</sup> Epistle 57, the last of this group, was a letter of congratulation, addressed to Cornelius in exile. Of the remaining letters, Epistle 66, addressed to the people and clergy of Furni, relates to one Victor, who at death had named a presbyter as his executor. It forbids that any offering be made for his repose, or any prayer be made in the church in his name; for a council of bishops had decreed that "no one should appoint any of the clergy and the ministers of God executor or guardian by his will, since every one honored by the divine priesthood, and ordained in the clerical service, ought to serve the altar and sacrifices only, and to have leisure for prayers and supplications." Epistle 67, from "Cyprian to his brother Stephen," Bishop of Rome, reminds the latter of a fact which, Cyprian says, "I certainly know to have been told

to you," namely, that Marcianus, Bishop of Arles in Gaul, had gone over to the party of Novatian; and urges Stephen to direct letters "to the people abiding at Arles, by which, Marcian being excommunicated, another may be substituted in his place." In Epistle 68, Cyprian and thirty-six bishops reply to a request for counsel from the people of Legio, Asturica, and Emerita, in Spain. Two bishops, Basilides and Martialis, had proved recreant and forfeited their offices, and the people had chosen one Sabinus in the place of Basilides. But the latter, who had at first voluntarily laid down the episcopate, afterward wished to resume it, and had gone to Rome and deceived Stephen, with the purpose of being replaced. Notwithstanding, however, that Stephen had supported them, the African bishops here counsel the churches not to hold communion with such profane and polluted priests. The following sentence indicates the spirit of the letter: "On which account a people obedient to the Lord's precepts, and fearing God, ought to separate themselves from a sinful ruler, and not to associate themselves with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest, especially since they themselves have the power either of choosing worthy priests, or of rejecting unworthy ones." Epistle 69 is addressed to Florentius Pupianus, who had written to Cyprian, asking about the truth of certain charges against him, and urging upon him that priests ought to be lowly. Cyprian rebukes the inquiries sharply and with sarcasm for taking up a reproach against a priest and even a bishop: "To believe that they who are ordained are unworthy and unchaste, what

else is it but to believe that his priests are not appointed in the church by God nor through God?" Only, therefore, as Pulpianus shall consider God's majesty who ordains priests, and shall trust, in respect of the innocence of bishops, not human hatred, but the divine judgment, can he have communion with him. As to humility, Cyprian says, "Both all the brethren and Gentiles, also, well know and love my humility." Epistles 70 to 76 have reference to the controversy on the rebaptism of heretics. The position taken by Cyprian and his colleagues is set forth in Epistle 72, from "Cyprian and others to Stephen their brother." This relates that a council [the seventh Council of Carthage, held A. D. 256, composed of eighty-seven North African bishops] had determined "that those who have been dipped abroad outside the church, and have been stained among heretics and schismatics with the taint of profane water, when they come to us and to the church which is one, ought to be baptized." This as opposed to the position taken by Stephen and the Roman clergy, and set forth in a letter of the Roman bishop. In Epistle 74, to Pompey, Cyprian refers to this last letter, and says that Stephen, "among other matters which were either arrogant, or were not pertaining to the matter," declares that, "if any one, therefore, come to you from any heresy whatever, let nothing be innovated which has not been handed down, that hands be imposed on him for repentance." Cyprian further speaks, in this letter, of the "bitter obstinacy of our brother Stephen"; whereas "Paul writes to Timothy, and warns him that a bishop

must not be 'litigious nor contentious, but gentle and teachable.' Now, he is teachable who is meek and gentle to the patience of learning. For it behooves a bishop not only to teach, but also to learn; because he also teaches better who daily increases and advances by better learning." Epistle 83, written from a place of retirement shortly before his death, informs his people that he withdraws for the reason that the officers were to take him away to Utica, whereas the glory of the church demanded that a bishop should suffer at his own city; and that he is simply awaiting the return of the proconsul to Carthage to come back himself and "thence depart to the Lord."

## EXTRACTS FROM THE EPISTLES.

## I. EPISTLE 4. To the Presbyters and Deacons.

"Cyprian to the presbyters and deacons, his beloved brethren, greeting: Being safe, through God's grace, I salute you, dearest brethren, rejoicing that I know everything to be well as regards your safety also. And since the condition of the place does not now permit me to be among you, I pray you by your faith and your religion to perform there your own office and mine, that nothing may be wanting either to discipline or diligence. Moreover, with regard to the means for providing either for those who, having confessed the Lord with glorious voice, have been imprisoned, or for those who labor in poverty and want, and still persevere in the Lord, I entreat that nothing be wanting; since the whole little sum which was collected there was distributed among the clergy for cases of this kind, that they might have enough from which they may

provide for the necessities and burdens of individuals."

"I entreat also that for procuring quiet your wisdom and care be not wanting. For, although, from their affection, the brethren desire to approach and visit the good confessors whom the divine regard has already distinguished by glorious beginnings, I yet desire that this be done cautiously and not in crowds, nor in great numbers collected at one time, lest, by this, hatred be aroused and the opportunity of entering be denied, and, while insatiably desiring all, we lose all. Consult, therefore, and provide that, with moderation, this may be done more safely; so that the presbyters also, who there offer [the oblation] among the confessors, may severally take their turns with the several deacons, because a change of persons and a varying of those coming together diminish suspicion. For meek and lowly as to all things, as becomes servants of God, we ought to regard the times, and promote quietness, and provide for the people. I wish you, dearest and most longed-for brethren, ever a hearty farewell; and do you remember me. Salute all the brotherhood. Victor, the deacon, and those who are with me salute you. Farewell."

2. "'We,' they say, 'recognize Cornelius as elected bishop of the most holy Catholic Church by Almighty God and by our Lord Jesus Christ. We confess our error. We have suffered imposture, and have been circumvented by perfidy and captious loquacity. For although we seemed, as it were, to have some connection with a man who was schismatic and a heretic, nevertheless our mind was always sincere in the Church. For we are not ignorant that there is one God, one Christ, the Lord whom we confess, one Holy Spirit, and that there ought to be one bishop in the Catholic Church.'" (Epistle 46, 2.)

3. "After these things, moreover, they still dare—a false bishop having been made for them by heretics—to set sail and to bring letters from profane and schismatic persons to the throne of Peter, and to the most distinguished church, whence arises the priestly unity; and not to reflect that those are Romans whose faith was praised by the preaching of the apostles, to whom perfidy can gain no access. But what was the reason for [their] coming and announcing the making of the false bishop against the bishop? For either what they had done was pleasing to them, and they were persevering in their wickedness; or, if it was displeasing and they were drawing back, they know whither they may return. For since it has been decreed by us all, and is equally fair and just, that the cause of each one shall be heard there, where the crime has been committed; and to the several pastors a portion of the flock has been assigned, which each one rules and governs, having to give account of his action to the Lord; it is certainly becoming in those over whom we are, not to run about and to break up the harmonious concord of the bishops by their crafty and deceitful temerity; but to submit their cause there, where they may have the accusers and witnesses of their crimes, unless, perchance, to a few desperate and lost men, the authority of the bishops constituted in Africa seems insufficient, who have already pronounced concerning them, and have lately by the gravity of their judgment condemned their conscience, bound by many snares of wickedness." (Epistle 55, 14.)

## CYPRIAN'S TREATISES.

There are extant the following twelve treatises by Cyprian: I, "On the Dress of Virgins." II, "On

the Lapsed." This is a treatise upon the position of those who in the persecutions had fallen, and offered sacrifice to idols. The church, it says, had come into so sad a state, so great a love for the world had crept in, that there was call for this discipline of suffering. Some had made haste to deny, and had even involved their infant children in their sin; these should be dealt with severely. For those from whom denial was extorted by the extremity of torture, it is right to have sympathy. But many of the lapsed are now seeking the communion of the church, without having even penitently confessed their sin. Those who receive such do them great injury, hindering them from salvation. The confessors who are granting to the lapsed certificates entitling them to communion, ir-respective of the discipline of the church, are derogating from their own glory. Some who presume thus profanely to commune are miraculously punished. Each one, then, should turn and "confess his own sin, while yet he who has sinned is in the world, while his confession may be received, while the satisfaction and remission made by the priests are acceptable to the Lord." Do not think that he will easily pardon;<sup>1</sup> though to the truly penitent he is merciful. III, "On the Unity of the Church." This treatise was called forth by the schism of Novatian at Rome. Heresies and schisms, it says, are of the adversary. There is every proof for faith in a short summary of the truth. The Lord said to Peter, "Upon this rock will I build my church."<sup>2</sup> Whoever, therefore, forsakes the church can not attain to the rewards of Christ. "He is a



stranger ; he is profane ; he is an enemy. He can no longer have God for his father who has not the church for his mother." The apostles warned against schisms which are only tolerated as a test, to distinguish between the wheat and the chaff. They are unrighteous chaff who appoint themselves prelates and take the name of bishops. These think they can baptize, but men are not washed by them ; they are rather made foul. Even suffering can not take away the stain of schism, for no one can be a martyr who is not in the church. Whoever separates from the church is to be avoided as "an enemy to the altar, a rebel against Christ's sacrifice" ; in that, "despising the bishops, and forsaking God's priests, he dares to set up another altar, to make another prayer with unauthorized words." IV, "On the Lord's Prayer." V, "An Address to Demetrianus." VI, "On the Vanity of Idols," a treatise closing with the words, "What Christ is, we Christians shall be if we imitate him." VII, "On the Mortality." This treatise urges upon Christians not to fear death from the plague, but to anticipate heaven as the going home from a foreign land to meet kindred and friends awaiting them. "Besides these kindred," it says, "there [await us] the glorious company of the apostles ; there the host of the rejoicing prophets ; there the innumerable multitude of martyrs. . . . Let us crave quickly to be with them, and quickly to come to Christ." VIII, "On Works and Alms." In this work is shown the place of good works in the economy of salvation, namely, the part of washing away the sin contracted after baptism. This, it claims,

is the doctrine of Scripture [quoting *Ecclus.* iii, 30, and *Luke* xi, 41]. The Lord enjoined almsgiving; and, upon Scripture testimony, he who giveth to the poor shall not lack. Let no one fear liberality; but let all trust in God for the future. Make Christ a partner with you in your earthly possessions. By thus giving your wealth to God, you are making him the guardian of your children. By withholding your wealth, you commend your children to the devil. Let all consider how the devil may boast of the gratuitous service of his followers, in comparison with the devotion of Christ's servants.<sup>3</sup> IX, "On the Advantage of Patience." X, "On Jealousy and Envy." XI, The "Exhortation to Martyrdom" is a collocation of Scripture passages, design'd to strengthen the minds of soldiers of Christ for their contests. In the preface the writer says that he has given the Scripture itself instead of a treatise of his own—has sent "the very wool and purple of the Lamb" from which the reader may make a garment of Christ for himself. XII, Three books of "Testimonies against the Jews" are, similarly, compilations from the Scriptures. Book One shows that the Jews, having lost God's favor, have been succeeded by the Christians. Book Two treats of Christ. Book Three is "a summary of heavenly precepts" upon one hundred and twenty different topics.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE TREATISES.

*From "On the Lapsed."*

1. "Do you think that he will easily pardon you, whom you have declared not to be yours? It is necessary for you to pray more earnestly, and to supplicate; to pass the day in grief; to wear out the night in vigils and weepings; to occupy the whole time in tearful lamentation; to cling prone to the earth in ashes; to be wrapped in sackcloth and filth; to be willing, after losing the raiment of Christ, to be unclothed; after [tasting] the food of the devil, to prefer fasting; to be earnest in good works, with which sins are purged; to give yourselves often to almsgiving, by which souls are freed from death. What the adversary took away, let Christ receive. Nor should an estate now be held or loved by which one is deceived and overcome. Wealth, as an enemy must be avoided, as a robber must be fled from, as a sword and as a poison must be feared, by its possessors. To this end only should what remains be of service, that thereby the crime and the fault be redeemed. Let there be instant and bountiful beneficence; let the entire possessions be laid out for the healing of the wound; let there be lent from our wealth and means unto the Lord, who will judge us." (Chap. 34.)

*From "On the Unity of the Church."*

(The unauthenticated passages of this extract are omitted.)

2. "The Lord speaks to Peter and says: [quot. of Matt. xvi, 18, 19.] And again he says to the same after his resurrection, 'Feed my sheep.' And, although, after the resurrection, he gives equal power to all the apostles, and says, 'As the Father hath sent me, I also send you: Receive the Holy Ghost:

If ye remit the sins of any one, they shall be remitted; if ye retain [the sins], they shall be retained'; still, that he might set forth a unity, by his own authority he determined the origin of that unity, as beginning from one. What Peter was, that assuredly were also the other apostles, endowed with a like partnership of honor and of power; but the beginning proceeds from unity, that the Church of Christ might be shown as one; which one church also, in the Song of Songs, the Holy Spirit, in the person of the Lord, designates and says: [quot. of Cant. vi, 9.] Does he who does not hold to this unity of the church think that he holds the faith? Does he who opposes and resists the church trust that he is in the church? when also the blessed apostle Paul teaches this same thing, and makes known the sacrament of unity, saying: 'One body and one spirit, one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God.' " (Chap. 4.)

*From "On Works and Alms."*

3. "Let each one place before his eyes the devil with his servants, that is, with the people of perdition and death, who springs into the midst and provokes, by the trial of comparison, the people of Christ, he being present as judge, saying: 'For those whom thou seest with me, I neither received buffets, nor endured stripes, nor bore a cross, nor shed my blood, nor redeemed my family at the price of my suffering and blood; but neither do I promise to them a celestial kingdom, nor do I, immortality being restored again, recall them to paradise. And yet they prepare for me gifts, how precious! how great! sought with what excessive and enduring labor, by most costly means, either pledging their own wealth or selling it to procure the gift! and unless a sufficient exhibition may

have followed, they are cast out with revilings and hissings, and by the popular fury sometimes they are almost stoned. Show, O Christ, such givers of thine—those rich men, those affluent with abundant wealth—whether, thou presiding and looking on in the church, they set forth gifts of this kind, their wealth being pledged, or scattered, indeed, transmuted, their possessions being transferred for the better to the celestial treasury. In those spectacles of mine, fleeting and earthly, no one is fed, no one is clothed, no one is sustained by the solace of any food or drink. Between the fury of the performer and the folly of the spectator, all things are perishing in a prodigal and silly vanity of misleading pleasures. Among thy poor, there art thou clothed and fed, thou dost promise eternal life to thy laborers; and scarcely equal to mine, who perish, are thy people, who are honored by thee with divine wages and celestial rewards.' ” (Chap. 22.)

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## OTHER LATIN WRITERS.

AFTER Tertullian and Cyprian, but at a long remove from them, should be named Minucius Felix, Novatian, Arnobius, and Lactantius. Minucius Felix, who lived in the latter part of the second and the earlier part of the third centuries, before his conversion was an advocate at Rome. His only work, the “Octavius,” gives account of a supposed argument between a heathen, Cæcilius, and the Christian, Octavius, the writer being the arbiter between them. The discussion is said to take place during an excursion of the three friends

from Rome to the seaside at Ostia. Cæcilius charges upon the Christians immorality and superstition; and claims that it is better to receive as sufficient what the fathers taught, and to allow ourselves no liberty of private judgment in matters pertaining to the gods, since our ancestors, having had the gods for their kings or friends, were better judges than we. Octavius shows the charges to be calumnies, and otherwise refutes his arguments, so as to convince his opponent. Scholars have differed in opinion as to whether this work was of earlier or later date than Tertullian's "Apology," one having evidently borrowed from the other. Of its literary character, Dean Milman says, "Perhaps no late work, either Pagan or Christian, reminds us of the golden days of Latin prose so much as the 'Octavius' of Minucius Felix."—Novatian, a Roman presbyter, caused a schism in the church on the question of admitting the lapsed to communion. His party were distinguished by the strictness of their discipline, calling themselves "the pure." Eusebius has preserved parts of a letter concerning this leader, written by Cornelius of Rome to Fabius of Antioch. It inveighs against the schismatic with no little bitterness, charging him with abandoning the Church of God, with procuring his consecration to the episcopate in an unlawful manner, and with requiring of his followers an oath that they would not desert him and return to Cornelius. Alluding to the constitution of the church at Rome at that time, the writer says: "This assertor of the gospel then did not know that there should be but one bishop in a catholic

church. In which, however, he well knew that there were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acoluthi, exorcists, readers, and janitors, in all fifty-two; widows, with the afflicted and needy, more than fifteen hundred; all which the goodness and love of God doth support and nourish." The principal extant writings of Novatian, who composed many works, are a treatise "On the Trinity," setting forth the "rule of truth" on this doctrine; and one "On the Jewish Meats."—Arnobius, a North African writer, was a rhetorician of Sicca, in the reign of Diocletian. Jerome relates that he had ever been an opponent of Christianity, and that at his conversion he offered his work, "Seven Books against the Heathen," as a pledge of his sincerity. The character of the book, however, as a learned and labored production, would seem to contradict this, as well as the fact that when he wrote (297–303 A. D.) violent persecutions were still raging. One great object of this apologetic work was to prove that the calamities then befalling the state were not chargeable to Christianity. The defense is made principally by an attack on heathenism, in which is used the keenest satire. The author seems unacquainted with the Old Testament, and, though knowing of the events of Christ's life, never speaks of quoting from the gospels. A noticeable feature of the book is that it denies the immortality of the soul save as this is conferred by Christ. Arnobius probably became a victim of the last persecution.—A pupil of Arnobius at Sicca was Lactantius, who has been held in high esteem by readers of the church fa-

thers, as well for the elegance of his style as for the subject matter of his writings. This felicity of expression gave to him the title long accorded to him of 'the Christian Cicero.' The time and place of his birth are not surely known, but Firmium, on the Adriatic, and the middle of the third century, are assigned to this event. He attained to great eminence as a teacher of rhetoric. Diocletian at one time invited him to settle at Nicomedia. Later, he having in the mean time embraced Christianity, Constantine called him to Gaul, to become the teacher of Crispus. His chief work was an "Introduction to True Religion," in seven books, which shows the falseness of the pagan religions and the vanity of the heathen philosophy; defends the claims of Christianity; sets forth the nature of righteousness, and gives instruction as to the true worship of God; and treats of rewards and punishments. Other works of his were "On the Anger of God," opposing the Epicureans and the Stoics; "On the Workmanship of God," a work setting forth the wonderful structure of the human frame; an "Epitome of the Institutes"; and "On the Manner in which Persecutors died."

To these should be added the names of Commodianus, writer of "Instructions in Favor of Christian Discipline"; Victorinus, Bishop of Petau, author of a fragment "On the Creation," and a "Commentary on the Apocalypse"; and Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, from whose hand we have a fragment "Against the Sabellians."

The above, with certain anonymous writings, among which are a number of metrical treatises—



“A Strain of Jonah the Prophet,” “A Strain of Sodom,” “Genesis,” “A Strain of the Judgment of the Lord,” and “Five Books in Reply to Marcion”—and a few doubtful treatises connected with the names of Tertullian and Cyprian, complete the list of the extant Latin writings of the period.

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